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JUNE 11, 1932

Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord
Prince de Benevente

THE

REVOLUTIONARY PLUTARCH:

EXHIBITING THE MOST

DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS,

LITERARY, MILITARY, AND POLITICAL,

IN THE RECENT ANNALS OF THE

FRENCH REPUBLIC;

THE GREATER PART

FROM THE ORIGINAL INFORMATION

OF

A GENTLEMAN RESIDENT AT PARIS.

TO WHICH, AS

AN APPENDIX,

IS REPRINTED ENTIRE, THE CELEBRATED

PAMPHLET OF "KILLING NO MURDER."

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GENERALS

IN THE

ARMY OF ENGLAND.

THE jealousy of Buonaparte induces him to employ generals almost unknown; and his policy is, to trust the command of his armies to no man whose reputation is established. This accounts for the many nameless chiefs who head the troops upon our opposite shores; men who hitherto have done nothing great to deserve notoriety, and little good to occupy a place in history. They are therefore noticed only, as serving in an army which the First Consul has the impudence to call his Army of England; and as obscurity baffles the researches of the inquisitive, and their past actions have been few or trifling, neither eminent nor meritorious, the sketches of their lives must always be short, and often uninteresting.

SOULT.

SOULT, the Commander in Chief of the Army against England assembled at St. Omer, was, before the Revolution, a private in the 23d regiment of foot. In 1792, Robespierre promoted him, for his *known* patriotism, to the rank of captain in the national guards; and in spring 1793, he served under General Custine on the Rhine, and was wounded at Mayence. A short time after, Robespierre again gave him the rank of chief of brigade; but when his patron perished, he was dismissed the service. In 1796, he was, however, again restored to his rank by Carnot; and he served in the army of the Rhine, under General Moreau, during the famous retreat through the Black Forest. By the recommendation of Hoche, he was, in 1798, nominated a general of brigade in the army of the Sambre and Meuse, where he caused himself to be noticed, not for his talents, but for his absurd jacobin principles. In 1800, Buonaparte appointed him Lieutenant-General in the army under Massena, and he distinguished himself several times during the siege of Genoa; but his laurels of victory were stained with blood, and dishonoured by the plunder of his

his friends, as well as by the spoil of his enemies.

Soult is not deficient of intelligence or bravery, but is a most notorious revolutionary intriguer: according to the opinion of Moreau and Massena, "more fit to make motions at a club, to bow in the anti-chamber of a revolutionary committee, or of a republican tyrant, than to head an army." His present appointment proves, however, that he well knows how to conceal or disguise an ambition which many know to be both ridiculous and extravagant; and therefore would certainly offend and alarm the suspicious Corsican, were he to perceive it: the man whom he suspects of a longing for the consular throne, would perish, and never command.

General Soult is about 45 years of age, strong and active, but a libertine and avaricious; glory is only his third passion: money and women are the two first. When he heard of his present appointment, he said, in the presence of a person now in London, "*that he was going to recruit for a seraglio and to fill up his coffers, by putting into requisition English misses and English guineas.*" In a word, he is a terrorist!

DUMAS.

DUMAS, Chief of the Staff of the Army of England, is the only general of any distinguished talents, hitherto known to be employed in Buonaparte's grand expedition against the British empire.

Dumas was born a gentleman, and was formerly an officer in the regiment of Languedoc. He served during the American war with La Fayette, as colonel, and, with most of the French officers who fought for rebellion in America, imbibed disloyal and revolutionary principles; and who, when the standard of revolt was raised in their own country, flocked around it with enthusiasm.

In 1789, he joined La Fayette's faction, and with it, under pretence of wishing for a limited monarchy, established royal democracy as preparatory to republican anarchy. When La Fayette was chosen commander in chief of the Parisian national guard, Dumas obtained a place in the staff, and he presented a plan for the organization of the national guard, not only at Paris, but all over France, which was approved by La

La Fayette, and adopted by the National Assembly.

In May 1791, he was sent a commissary to the province of Alsace, to keep up and direct the public spirit of the inhabitants in favour of the Revolution. When in June following, the unfortunate Louis XVI. to spare the lives of his unworthy and rebellious subjects, caused himself to be arrested at Varennes, Dumas received full powers to put into requisition all the troops he thought necessary to escort that prince on his return to Paris; and in reward for this undutiful conduct, the King was forced to promote him to the rank of marechal-de-camp, or major-general; and to employ him in that capacity, in the province of Lorraine. In September, the same year, when the Constituent Assembly had finished its treacherous and dangerous innovations, and was succeeded by the Legislative Assembly, Dumas was elected one of its members for the department of the Seine and Oise, and became one of the principal chiefs of the club of the Feuillants, erected by the constitutional rebels, in opposition to the jacobin club of republican levellers. He was generally of moderate principles, if it can be called moderation, to occupy a place he derived

from insurrection against lawful authority, and only sanctioned by a king surrounded by daggers, under the axe of a revolutionary guillotine.

In the winter 1791, and in the spring 1792, Dumas did every thing in his power to prevent or to withhold the declaration of war against the House of Austria, which the cruel policy of the Brissot faction thought necessary, not only for the safety of rebels, and for the success of rebellion, but to embroil the universe; or, as Brissot impudently asserted, "*to set fire to the four corners of the globe.*"

In February 1792, Dumas was called to the chair, as President of the National Assembly, and acted in such a manner, that he offended the jacobins without pleasing the royalists. On the 11th of the following May, he defended with eloquence those French generals, who had lately been defeated by the Imperialists in Flanders and in Brabant, against the jacobins, who, disregarding or confounding all notions of liberality and justice, wished to punish misfortunes as faults; and faults as treason.

About this time, the republicans had determined to throw off the mask, and openly to overturn a throne, which for four years they had secretly

ly undermined: as a first step, they, by a decree of the National Assembly, obliged Louis XVI. to dismiss and disband his constitutional body guard; on this occasion, Dumas, in a very acute speech, proved, that the legislative power had no right to pronounce against the guard of the King: his discourse was applauded by the whole Assembly, but the decree passed by a large majority. On the 20th of June, Dumas strongly reprobated the outrageous conduct of the jacobins, (under the guidance of the infamous Santerre, and with the approbation of the treacherous Petion), towards the king, his person, and family, and he accused Roland, and the other ministers of his party, whom Brissot had forced upon the king, of all the failures and discomfitures which had been sustained by the French army; he exposed their ignorance, their ambition, and their crimes; and he denounced Dumourier for having seized upon a command without the consent either of the King or of the Field-Marshal Lyckner, the commander in chief; he publicly declared that these ministers, and their adherents in the National Assembly, had compromised the safety of the state. This was the last time Dumas had an opportunity to defend a monarchy, long tottering by the intrigues, plots, and innovations of himself

himself and of his partisans of the Constituent Assembly, who imagined themselves then, as Brissot, Robespierre, and Barras have done since, and as Buonaparte does yet, that because they had usurped power and place, every thing was for the best; France free, Frenchmen happy, and the Revolution at an end.

During the years 1793 and 1794, Dumas, by concealment and obscurity, escaped the proscriptions of the terrorists, and the guillotine of Robespierre. In 1795, he was again elected a member of the Council of Ancients, where he occupied most of his time in their military committee, and on the 3d November 1796, made a report, in which he paid a just tribute of admiration to General Moreau's excellent retreat from Brisgau. He published at the same period, a work, called *Resultat de la derniere Campagne*, with the intent of persuading the Directory to conclude a peace with the Emperor, and not to insist upon retaining any other of the conquests France had made, but Luxemburgh, Tournay, Antwerp, and Maestricht.

On the 28th of July, 1797, he spoke strongly against the Directory, for its infraction and breach of the constitutional laws, by ordering troops to approach the capital; and he was, therefore, on the

the 5th of September following, condemned, with Pichegru and other loyal men, *without trial*, to be transported to Cayenne. By putting on his regimentals as a general officer, and by travelling in this dress, he escaped, however, into Germany; and during 1798 and 1799, he resided at Eutin near Lubeck, where he wrote a military journal, published at Hamburgh, called *Precis des Evenemens Militaires*, which contained some very able and judicious observations on the campaign of 1799, in Italy, Germany, and Holland. This work shews that Dumas possesses, at least, great theoretical knowledge in the modern art of war, and warfare; that he is a man who for a long time has made military transactions his only study, thought, application, and contemplation; that he has genius to penetrate, judgment to conclude, and capacity to explain the labyrinth of modern tactics, evolutions, sieges, and encampments; and in his narratives and descriptions, to be minute without tediousness, and general without confusion. The impartiality which reigned in most of the numbers of this periodical work made it very popular at its publication, makes it very valuable for present and future historians, and will serve as a model for writers of military annals or memoirs. The last number alone,

alone, concerning Buonaparte's campaigns in Egypt, afflicts all loyal men, because its contents clearly proves, that it came from an ambitious and base exile, flattering a tyrant in power, as a price for his benevolence or justice; it was, at the expence of truth and honour, a petition for the favour of an usurper, and a claim for advancement under a military despot. Dumas, as well as all other constitutional rebels, who, in the name of liberty had betrayed their king as subjects, and violated their duty as citizens, is mean enough to content himself to speculate upon happiness and freedom, in enduring the abject bondage of a Corsican adventurer, after having, as a free subject, revolted against his lawful King.

In January 1800, Dumas was recalled from his exile; and soon after made a counsellor of state in the war section. In the autumn of the same year, he was appointed chief of the staff of the French army in Switzerland. The peace of Luneville, in February 1801, caused him to resume his former occupation in the Council of State, "*where all his plans and contrivances have been to injure England, and to plot and prepare its destruction.*" This is, no doubt, the reason why Buonaparte has trusted him with the present command.

Dumas

Dumas has never hitherto, either in America or in Switzerland, distinguished himself as an officer, much less as a general. His best friends say, that he has not talents to command a battalion, although he has abilities to describe correctly and ably whole campaigns. Dumas is an intriguer, and ambitious. He is at present fawning under Buonaparte, as he was in 1790 under the despicable La Fayette, and will do the same under a Bourbon, should ever a Bourbon admit him in his councils, or in his army. He has an active mind, which wants employment; but he has neither honour nor delicacy as to the means of obtaining occupation, or as to the men who occupy him.

General Dumas is past sixty, rather short and corpulent; he has naturally a strong constitution, which his excesses have somewhat injured.

DUFOUR.

DUFOUR, a general of division in the army under the command of Soult, at St. Omer, was, before the Revolution, a trumpeter in the dragoon regiment

giment of Schomberg. Arrested on suspicion of having robbed one of his officers, he deserted, went to Paris, and there became a fashionable patriot and a furious jacobin. He continued, however, to remain in a subaltern capacity, although protected by Marat, until 1793, when a revolutionary army was decreed; in which he, together with his friend the Ambassador General Brune, obtained the rank of colonel. With this army, composed of Septembrizers, and other banditti, he murdered and plundered at Lyons and in La Vendée; and was therefore, by the recommendation of Carrier and Fouché de Nantes (the national representatives and assassins in the western departments), advanced, by Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety, to the rank of general; and as such, in 1794, with twenty thousand republicans (of whom he lost four thousand), he attacked and defeated at the Boccage, Charette, who had only five thousand royalists under his command. After this *noble* victory, he conducted himself in the most barbarous manner, sparing neither sex nor age. He burnt, in two days, seven villages, and sent two hundred and six women and children to Carrier, at Nantes, to be drowned. Sixteen old men, whose infirmities and age prevented them from escaping his rage, were burnt alive

alive in their own houses. After the death of Robespierre, he was decreed to be arrested by the National Convention, as an accomplice with Carrier; but he escaped imprisonment by concealing himself, and not appearing until the conventional amnesty permitted him to do so with safety. In the autumn 1795, Carnot employed him as a spy on General Pichegru, in the army of the Rhine; and he was, in an engagement with the Austrians, taken prisoner. Exchanged in 1796, and made a commander at Huningen, he there, first defended, and afterwards surrendered, the Tete du Pont to the Imperialists.

In 1798, he went with his staff to the neighbouring city of Basle, to pay a visit to Mengaud, the present police commissary at Calais, who was then the directorial emissary in Switzerland; and at his instalment, harangued him in the following revolutionary jargon: "Citizen Mengaud, the Executive Directory, by appointing thee *chargé d'affaires*, were convinced of thy civism, and we applaud their choice. Banish from *thy diplomacy* that horrid policy, that subtlety of the cabinets of kings: *frankness, honesty, and generosity, are the qualities of the Great Nation thou representest.*" He then talked of thunder and lightning, and of the tri-coloured standard. Mengaud, grateful, and

not behind-hand in sublimity, replied with a ridiculous solemnity: "Thou hast said it, Dufour; the Directory, in calling me to the *honourable and delicate post of their representative*, thought they recognized in me a thorough-bred civism. In asking the fraternal embrace of thee, and the general officers at Huningen, I *provoke* on my part, and on theirs, the strictest scrutiny of my conduct." Mengaud was, at this time, plotting the ruin of Switzerland, and Dufour was in the secret!!! This republican duplicity and *balderdash*, of Dufour and Mengaud, should not be forgotten; it is the farce of revolutionary tragedy.

After Buonaparte had usurped the supreme power in France, the liberty and equality-man Dufour, became a consular aristocrat and a Corsican slave. In December 1799, he, in an address to the staff and garrison at Huningen, spoke with *contempt of the sovereignty of the people, and of the equality and fraternity between citizens of a republic, extensive and populous as France.* He called Robespierre *a fool and a tyrant*, and the Directors *ignorant and oppressive despots*, whom *patriotism* had caused him to obey, and *the love of his country* to serve. He styled Buonaparte the Envoy of Heaven, the restorer of liberty, and the scourge of the mercantile slaves of modern Carthage, who

scatter

scatter away their gold in Europe, to forge iron fetters for the universe. This is the same Citizen Dufour, who, in 1793, acknowledged "no other *Divinity*, but *Reason*—and no *saint*, but *Saint Marat*;" and who, in 1794, called "*Robespierre* the *Republican Moses*, carrying and shewing *free* and *happy* Frenchmen, to the true Canaan, the real land of promise, France (regenerated and created by him a republic of liberty and equality), where Nature has found again its long lost right, and where the *sans culotte* fraternizes with the aristocrat."

The manners of this Corsican general are as vulgar as his language is ridiculous and contemptible. With an inhuman character, only surpassed by a more unfeeling heart, he commits crimes, extorts plunder, and boasts of his infamy, without sense enough to see the horror and disgust he inspires. He is exactly the fit man—the mean, the abominable votary Buonaparte wants. *As long as he is sure of a place*, he will obey his orders implicitly—he will *poison* his army, *burn cities*, *ruin*, *enslave*, or *annihilate* nations, with the same *sans-froid* and *indifference* as the Corsican commands it.

ST. HILAIRE.

ST. HILAIRE, who commands as general of division under Soult, was born a nobleman; and, before the Revolution, had the rank of lieutenant in a regiment of hussars. On the 10th of November, 1791, he commanded the detachment which, some leagues from Avignon, made prisoner the notorious Jourdan the cut-throat *(coupe-tête)*, so called from cutting off the heads of numbers of persons, in 1789, at Paris and at Versailles. When all loyal officers resigned their commissions, on refusing the national oaths, and to become accomplices with traitors and atheists, St. Hilaire took the oaths, and was advanced to the rank of colonel. In 1793, he served under General Dugoumier, before Toulon; and, in 1794, with his regiment, joined the French army in Spain, when he was made general of brigade, and, as such, in 1795, employed under General Scherer, in the army of the Alps; where, in April, he distinguished himself in an engagement before Final, and was wounded. On the 4th of August, the same year, he assisted General Guieux to defeat the combined troops of Austria and Sardinia, near Gavarde, and was on the field of battle

de created general of division. Disgraced by the Directory, in 1797, and suspected of opinions similar to those of Generals Pichegru, Willot, and other loyal men, he was, for some time, obliged to conceal himself, to avoid their fate. In 1800, Buonaparte appointed him the commander at Marseilles, where he conducted himself more as a weak, than a moderate man; more as an ambitious jacobin, than as a disinterested citizen. The most numerous, and the most respectable inhabitants of Marseilles, are anti-jacobins; but all Buonaparte's civil authorities there, are composed of men who are avowed jacobins and terrorists. St. Hilaire, in wishing to please both the citizens and their tyrants, displeased and offended them all; and their united complaints, caused him to be removed from his place. He has since passed his time at Paris, courting the looks of the Usurper, and fawning at his levees, routs, and parades. Like other military men, to whom the Corsican gives any command, he is servile and intriguing, a base flatterer, but an ambitious schemer; vain enough to think himself a man of consequence; but not of judgment enough to see, that consequence, obtained from guilt, is nothing but infamy. Like other degraded noblemen who have joined in the Revolu-

tion, and fought the battles of regicides and rebels, he had neither any property to lose, nor any character to preserve; he lost them both previous to 1789 at the gambling tables in the city of Lyons. St. Hilaire is past forty, with a constitution broken by the debaucheries of cities more than by the fatigues of camps.

LOISON.

Loison, the third in command in the army of England, under General Soult, was, previous to the Revolution, a private in the French guards. He was amongst the first, in that disgraced regiment, who, seduced by the emissaries of the Orlean faction, deserted his King, and joined the standard of revolt. He is a man of natural parts, but of no education; he is, like most of his countrymen, vain and presumptuous. He had not been three months a rebel, before he pretended to promotion. At the forming of the national guards at Paris, he tormented La Fayette to be nominated an officer; but, as he could neither write nor read, he was refused: and, in revenge, became his enemy and accuser at the jacobin club, where he made his own resent-

resentment of neglect, a proof of La Fayette's aristocracy and intended high-treason against the sovereign people.

On the 10th of August, 1792, he was one of the leaders of the rabble who attacked the castle of the Thuilleries, and was heard to call out, "*No quarter!—kill—kill—all the Capets—all the aristocrats, and all the Swiss soldiers!*" He, with fifty associates, attacked four Swiss soldiers; who, determined to sell dearly their lives, killed and wounded many of their cruel and cowardly assailants. Among others, Loison received a wound with a bayonet in his side, which confined him in an hospital for seven months. During this period, he had sense enough to take an instructor to teach him to read and write. When he recovered from his wound, he obtained from his accomplices, Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, the rank of commander of a battalion of national guards, and was sent to serve in the army of Ardennes; where his speeches and motions at the jacobin club, and not his valour or manœuvres in the field, occasioned his being promoted to the rank of general of brigade.

In September 1795, when the expiring regicide convention desired to continue its tyrannical power, by having two-thirds of its members elected

elected into the Councils of Ancients and of Five Hundred, all loyal men, with the Parisian sections, opposed such an encroachment on their rights and liberties; and it had great difficulty to find any generals, traitorous or base enough to defend its cause. Upwards of forty of the first and best military characters had already declined it—when the infamous Barras, dragged forward from their obscurity Buonaparte and Loison, who bravely assisted him, on the 14th of Vendemiaire, (5th of October) 1795, to butcher eight thousand men, women, and children, in the streets of Paris.

Barras, and the National Convention, were so well satisfied with Loison's *civic* transactions on that day, that he was nominated president of the military council and tribunal at St. Roch, charged to try those patriots who had escaped his bayonets, and Buonaparte's cannon. In this *honourable* place, he enforced and executed, with all the rigour of a jacobin terrorist, the revolutionary laws of the barbarous French Republic; and if, by concealment and emigration, most of the marked out and devoted victims of his and the conventional fury, avoided the guillotine, it was no fault of his—because no person was accused at his tribunal, whom he did not condemn to death, or to deportation.

Buonaparte

Buonaparte and Loison, having thus made their acquaintance at this *fraternal* banquet—inundated by them with the blood of virtue, patriotism, and innocence—were united by the common ties of their common crimes, and of their common danger; but both had the same claims to Barras' *bonne amie*, Madame Beauharnois, held out by him as a boon of allurance to power and riches—as a reward for past guilt—and as an engagement for the continuance of future wickedness.—This, and Loison's incapacity, caused Buonaparte to decline Carnot's offer of giving Loison a command in the army of Italy: he, however, procured him an advantageous place in Holland; where he had only citizens to oppress, property to plunder, and no enemy to combat. During eighteen months stay in that unfortunate country, Loison, by bribes, requisitions, forced loans, and military contributions, made a fortune of one hundred thousand ducats. Recalled by the Directory, he went to Paris, bought an hotel, divorced his wife, kept his mistress, frequented gambling-houses; and in nine months time became—for a second time—a sans culotte. In this situation he was when Buonaparte returned from Egypt; who having determined to dethrone the Directory, and to usurp their place, engaged

Loison,

Loison, with other idle or ruined generals, to assist and accompany him to St. Cloud; where, on the 9th of November, 1799, regicide Directors were forced to resign their authority to rebel Consuls.

In 1800, Buonaparte sent Loison to organize a division of the army of reserve assembled at Dijon; but at the battle of Marengo he either wanted talents or an occasion to distinguish himself. To get rid of him, Buonaparte, in 1781, wished him to embark with a division in the army under Le Clerc, for St. Domingo, but which he declined. He has since been employed in the household troops, in the army of the interior, and in Italy, and is no doubt, at present, *destined to be one of Buonaparte's forlorn hope*, in his rash attempt upon this country.

Loison is near forty years of age, of aukward manners, and of ridiculous behaviour. As ignorance is often talkative, he speaks upon all subjects with an effrontery which would offend, were it not too contemptible. He is a brave soldier, but an indifferent commander. Careless of his own life, he throws away the lives of others with such a cruel profusion, that it has shocked even republican, or rather Corsican generals, who themselves set so little value upon the lives of their soldiers.

VAN DAMME.

VAN DAMME is the son of a barber at Cassel; and, in 1787, engaged himself as a common soldier in the regiment of Flanders. In 1788 he was convicted of robbery and house-breaking, and was condemned to be hanged; by the ill-timed humanity of Baron L'Anglois, a judge at Cassel, the sentence was changed into ten years slavery in the gallies, after being marked with a hot iron on his shoulders by the public executioner. In 1790 Van Damme escaped from the gallies, and became, of course, a *famous jacobin*, and a *great patriot*. In 1793 he was, by Robespierre, promoted to the rank of a general. During the campaigns of 1793 and 1794, he commanded in Maritime Flanders, where he murdered and plundered friends as well as foes. With his own hand he shot an emigrant, brought to him a prisoner at Furnes, and appropriated to himself the property of this emigrant's sister, near Dunkirk. It was in October 1793, that he for the first time seized upon Furnes, and blockaded Neuport; but at the approach of the Allied Powers he was forced to retreat with the loss of his artillery and ammunition. During this retreat he laid waste the country

try every where, and gave up Furnes to pillage; and when the magistrates dared to make any representations, he answered, with a ferocious smile, *I came here only to bring you misery and death, but not to hear any complaints. Soldiers, do your duty; pille, ravis, et tue qui sperr.* After repeated complaints of the Flemings, he was ordered to give an account of his conduct, and to appear before the Committee of Public Safety at Paris.

Baron L'Anglois was one of the richest men in the country of Flanders, humane and generous, and near eighty years of age. Van Damme owed to him his life in 1788, and in return, in 1793, he arrested him as suspected, and sent him to Paris; he forwarded also a letter to his worthy friend and countryman Duhem *, a deputy of the National Convention, in which he described him as *good game for the guillotine.* Such was, however, Baron L'Anglois' innocence, that even Robespierre permitted him to remain at large, under the inspection of a *gens d'arms* at Paris.

In the summer of 1794, Van Damme arrived at Paris, and was provided with so many *bloody* and *weighty* arguments, that he was soon declared

* Duhem, one of Robespiere's generals and accomplices, is at present the favourite, the accomplice, and General of Buonaparte, and his governor at Lyons.

by

by the Committee of Public Safety, to be a true sans-culotte, without crime and without reproach, and the command in Flanders was restored to him. The day before he left Paris, Baron L'Anglois had the misfortune to meet him in one of the streets, and received from him the fraternal and liberal assurance, *that he had not forty-eight hours to live*; and, in fact, before thirty-six hours, Baron L'Anglois was no more! On his return to his country, Van Damme bought the greatest part of the Baron's property, which he yet possesses.

All other generals, officers, and soldiers of the army of the North had refused to obey the decree of the National Convention, of no quarter to the English and Hanoverians: Van Damme *alone*, to encourage his soldiers to become assassins, killed before Nieuport in cold blood, an Hanoverian officer who was his prisoner.

After the death of Robespierre, Van Damme, with several other assassins, plunderers, and terrorists, were put under arrest, but, in a short time, by the amnesty of the National Convention, he recovered his liberty; he remained, however, in a kind of revolutionary disgrace, without employment, but enjoying with security the fruits of his former crimes. He now occupied himself in meditating new plots, and in squander-

ing away in debaucheries a part of his great fortune: by his ostentation and luxury he hoped to silence public clamours, and by inebriety to smooth the remorse of conscience; he often treated those who always despised him, and he sometimes paid and protected the then persecuted and proscribed clergymen, for receiving his confession, and giving their absolution; but an instant after he denounced and sent them as fanatics to be transported to Cayenne by the Directory. He was fantastical as the ignorant, superstitious as the weak, tormented as the guilty, and cruel as a military and revolutionary upstart.

The revolution in favour of the jacobins, of the 4th September, 1797, put him again into activity, and procured him a command under General Jourdan, and he shared his defeats in April and May, 1799. During the campaign, in the spring of 1800, he commanded a division under General Moreau. When in Suabia, he ordered the war commissary of his division, Pommier, to put into requisition several hundred heads of cattle, and afterwards to accept in cash, half their value of the inhabitants: for this transaction Pommier was shot, and Van Damme sent by Moreau, in disgrace, to the rear of the army.

After the peace of Luneville, when the fear, jealousy,

jealousy, and guilt of Buonaparte, pointed out the policy to alienate from Moreau all the generals who had served under him, and to attach them to himself by bribes, places, and impunity, he made Van Damme governor of Lille; such was, however, the good opinion the Flemings had of Buonaparte, that they imagined he promoted Van Damme to this place as a punishment, knowing how much he was detested every where in and near his own country (Lille being only twenty miles from Cassel); they were, however, mistaken; Van Damme is become one of Buonaparte's favourites, by becoming his spy, and the places, the property, and the liberty of the inhabitants in this part of France, are entirely depending upon the good will and reports of Van Damme, with whom money *alone* constitutes ability; meanness, merit; and guilt, patriotism.

Van Damme's address to his soldiers, and his correspondence with the generals of the enemy, in 1793 and 1794, were printed in the *Gazette de Leyde*, as disgusting examples of the revolutionary vandalism. In a letter addressed to Citizen Orang, (the young Prince of Orange) in December 1793, he begins with *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, or Death*; it was signed Van Damme, general of the sans culottes.

This general of the sans culottes is at present one of the greatest Corsican aristocrats: his manner of living, his suite and equipage, surpass even the most extravagant of the King's former governors: with the education of a barber, and the capacity of a grenadier, he is vain, proud, insolent and despotic. Nothing proves more strongly the debased character of Frenchmen, and how much Buonaparte despises his *French* slaves, than their submission with patience to any infamous man whom they abhor, and Buonaparte's appointment of such a governor, knowing his infamy, and their just abhorrence of him.

If exception be made of some young generals lately promoted by Buonaparte, all his military favourites are of the same character, have committed the same crimes, and pursued the same conduct as Van Damme; their former guilt answers for their present fidelity, and their past tyranny for their ready slavery; all loyal officers who have nothing to fear from the return of order and monarchy, are either exiled as Pichegru, neglected as Moreau, suspected as Massena, or disgraced as Macdonald*.

* The particulars concerning this *republican* general are found in Les Annales du Terrorisme, Dictionnaire Biographique, and and in a pamphlet called La Denonciation des Flamands.

AUGEREAU.

AUGEREAU,

AUGEREAU, the commander in chief of the army against Ireland, was born at Paris in 1749, and is the bastard son of a fruit-woman, who afterwards married a petty green-grocer of the name of Augereau. At an early age he was inscribed upon the registers of the police as one of its spies; but in 1769, having robbed a person, whom he had arrested, of his purse, he was forced by the lieutenant of police, at Paris, to enlist himself in a corps called Legion de Corse, composed of desperate vagabonds, like himself, whom the police, as a punishment for their crimes and vices, sent to combat the Corsican patriots, who resisted the French plots and the French arms employed to conquer their country. The officers of this corps were adventurers of the same characters as their soldiers, with this only difference, that they were degraded noblemen, or dishonoured gentlemen, whilst their men were common robbers, thieves, forgers, or assassins. The famous, or rather infamous Count de Mirabeau, was an officer in this corps.

In 1772, Augereau deserted from Toulon, where he was in garrison, and went to Lombardy,

and enlisted in the Austrian regiment of Stuart, from which, in 1774, he again attempted to desert, but was overtaken, and received two hundred lashes as a chastisement. In 1778, when a war was on the eve of breaking out between Austria and Prussia, on account of the Bavarian Succession, Augereau marched with his regiment to Bohemia, where he found an opportunity to desert over to the Prussians in Silesia, and to become a soldier in the regiment of Kleist, but from which he escaped in 1782. He then went back to Paris, where, being accused of having broken open a jeweller's shop, the police a second time laid hold of him, and he was confined for two years to hard labour in the house of correction, called Bicetre. In 1785 he went as servant with a Swiss officer, Baron de Salis, to Switzerland, married there the daughter of a shoemaker, and resided at Neuchatel, as a fencing-master. In the spring 1786, under pretence of having an invitation to be present at the wedding of a relation some leagues from Neuchatel, he borrowed a horse and two watches from a watchmaker of the name of Courvoisier, with which he left Switzerland and his wife, and went to Italy. In September 1800, when Augereau, as a republican commander in chief, had his head-quarters

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at Frankfort upon the Main, Courvoisier, who was at the fair, called upon him, and was admitted with the greatest pomp and pride, in the presence of all his generals and officers, and solemnly invited to dine with him. At the table, Courvoisier was placed on Augereau's right hand, above all the German princes and noblemen, who dishonoured themselves by fawning in the anti-chambers, at the levees, or at the table of this shameless upstart. This was the *only value* Courvoisier obtained for a stolen horse, and for two swindled watches.

In May 1786, Augereau engaged himself as a common soldier in the Neapolitan regiment of Epirots, where, in a short time, his address as a fencing-master procured him many pupils, and money enough to pay for his discharge. In 1787, he settled in the capital of the Two Sicilies, and, by his cunning and impudence, insinuated himself as a teacher into many noble and rich families of that city. When, in 1789, Mirabeau, La Fayette, and their accomplices, established their revolutionary propaganda, their emissaries at Naples picked up Augereau as a fit instrument for their designs in Italy; and until 1792, when he was, with the rest of his countrymen, banished from Italy, he served in that country,

try, in the two-fold capacity of a propagator for the republican jacobins, and as a spy for the revolutionary ministers of France. Most of the rebellious Neapolitan noblemen, who revolted against their King in 1798, and who were deservedly punished in 1799, had been Augereau's pupils, or seduced by his Gallic and jacobinical sophistry.

At his return amongst his revolted countrymen, Augereau joined, as a volunteer, the army collecting under General Ausceline, and destined to invade the country of Nice. In France, at this period, to get rank and promotion, nothing was required but to be a constant declaimer against kings and priests; to be an active visitor of clubs; to denounce every man of property as an aristocrat, and every man of any religion as a fanatic; to imprison in the name of liberty; to plunder in the name of equality; and to murder in the name of fraternity. Augereau, therefore, soon advanced to be a republican general, and was, as such, employed during the year 1794, in the army of the Pyrenées, where he was remarked for audacity more than for abilities, particularly at the skirmish near Figuieres; and in May 1795, he contributed much to the fortunate termination of the battle fought with the Spaniards near the river Flauia.

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While French intrigues had been as successful as French arms, and Spanish Ministers disgraced a Bourbon in Spain, by a humiliating peace and alliance with the regicide assassin of a Bourbon in France, the army of the Pyrenées was united with the army of the Alps, and Augereau accompanied this army to Italy. With the division under his command, after a forced march of two days, he, on the 10th of April, 1796, carried the defiles of Millesimo; and having, by this operation, joined the Generals Menard and Joubert, he drove the enemy from all the surrounding positions; and, by the promptitude of his manœuvres, he completely hemmed in a division of the Austrians, under the command of General Proveyra. On the 15th of the same month, at the engagement by Dego, he occupied the redoubts of Montezemo, and facilitated the junction with General Serrurier. The next day he left this position, attacked and carried the entrenched camp at Céva, defended by the troops of the King of Sardinia. On the 26th he took Alba; and on the 27th of May, Casale. On the 16th of June he passed the river Po, at Borgoforte, arrived at Bologna on the 19th, where he had but little trouble to make prisoners the unprepared four hundred soldiers of the Pope, the governor, and

and the Cardinal Legat and his staff. He here visited, as from religious motives, all the convents and churches, received the blessings of priests and friars for his promised protection; but, in the night following, stripped all the churches of their pictures and riches, and all the saints of their treasures and ornaments. Of these he appropriated to himself the greatest part; he was seen publicly the next day with some jewels, which devotion had given, and which some hours before decorated the statue of the Virgin Mary. In the name of the Great Nation, and *under pain of death*, he ordered every thing that the city contained, private as well as public property, to be ready, at a moment's warning, for his disposal. He set his soldiers an example of indecency, plunder, and debauchery. The sacredness of innocence, protected by their vows to their God, and their renunciation of the world, was violated by him in the most scandalous manner. He, for one night, put sixteen young nuns into requisition for himself and his staff: the tears of youth, the pangs of conscience, and the prayers of virtue, availed nothing; they were, by a drunken soldiery, carried away, almost lifeless, from the retreat and cells of religion, to the infamous beds of vice; to endure the horrid and disgusting embraces of cruel crime

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in power. Four of these devoted victims to the lust of republicans, afterwards destroyed themselves; six lost their reason; and the six others, their health.

These, and other abominations, excited in Italy universal detestation of Frenchmen, and of French principles, and brought on many partial insurrections. In July 1796, the inhabitants of the town of Lugo rose against their French tyrants. Augereau went there to *re-establish order*. With his numerous armed banditti he soon dispersed some few disarmed citizens, and defenceless women and children. "To inspire the Italians with terror for French republican *justice*," he gave up the town to pillage for three hours, and widows were violated by the side of their murdered husbands, and virgins ravished between the butchered and mutilated carcasses of their fathers and brothers. To finish this *scene of true French fraternity*, the principal church was ordered to be cleared, and at night all females above ten, and under forty, were ordered, *under pain of death, to present themselves* NAKED *at a civic feast given by Augereau* in this church. The inhuman and sacrilegious abominations which took place that night, are described in a work printed at Vienna in 1799, and called "Les Crimes des Repub-

Republicains en Italie;" but they are too terrible and too shocking to be related to English readers. *It is*, however, useful to observe, that if Augereau committed, and permitted his soldiers to commit these cruelties, his commander in chief, Buonaparte, approved of them; and he advanced into the good graces of the Corsican victor of Italy, in proportion as he was barbarous with the Italians.

After this *abridged* account of *only a small* part of the conduct and transactions of *regenerated* Frenchmen, under the guidance of Buonaparte, Augereau, and other jacobins, of their hearts, heads, and characters—an extract from the address of Buonaparte to the people of Italy, dated Mondovi, April 23, 1796, is a curious monument of political hypocrisy and deception, and of military imposture and impudence: he says, "Nations of Italy, the army approaches *on purpose to burst your fetters!* FREE France is the *friend* of every people: approach our standards with confidence. *Your religion, your property*, and *your customs*, shall all be *respected*. We will carry on the war like *generous enemies*, for we have no dispute but with the tyrants who keep you in servitude. *We are the liberators, and not the scourges of enfranchised nations.*" Such was the language, such were the promises

promises of the Corsican; but cities, towns, and villages in ruins, and their plundered, beggared, enslaved, or murdered inhabitants, are undeniable and convincing evidence of his faith.

Having finished his *brilliant* exploits at Bologna and Lugo, Augereau in the beginning of August retook his former position in the centre of the army, where he contributed to extricate Massena, who for some time had been in a very critical situation, and he seized upon Castiglione. Some days after, he had new success over the enemy, although protected by the castle of Scagnello; he afterwards, on the 25th of August, passed the Adige, and repulsed the weakened Austrians as far as Roveredo. He left Verona on the 4th of September, and marched to the right of the army to keep in awe a corps posted at Bassano. On the 6th he found himself at Borgo di Valdi Sugana, where his advanced guard, commanded by General Lanusse, carried Primolan the next day, whilst he took possession of the fort Cavello, which had been evacuated by the enemy. Having quitted Padua on the 10th, he directed his march upon Porto Legnago, when Massena, who had left Vincenza at the same time, advanced by the side of Villa Nova, in a manner that the Imperial General Wurmser, finding him-

self nearly surrounded with five thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred cavalry under his command, was forced, although with great difficulty, to cut a passage through the numerous French corps before he could join his countrymen at Mantua. On the 11th Augereau invested Porto Legnago, and by bribing its cowardly commander, entered it the same day by capitulation.—Conjointly with General Sahuget, he, on the 15th, seized upon the Fort St. George, near Mantua, occupied the *tête du pont*, La Favorite, and made several prisoners. He again distinguished himself on the 7th November, when, having learned that the enemy had passed the Brenta at Bassano, as with an intent to march towards the bridge of Lisiera, he went to meet them, and, after a long and bloody contest, repulsed them to the gates of Bassano.

In February 1797, he was sent to Paris, charged to present to the Directory the standards and trophies taken from the Austrians during the several engagements before the surrender of Mantua. His dress, behaviour, speeches, and pretensions, during his short stay at Paris, were the common topics of conversation, of criticism, of ridicule, and of disgust. With the grossest vulgarity of manners, he united the most extravagant

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and ostentatious dress, decorating of his person with diamonds, rings, and jewels; and in using the language of a low *sans-culotte*, he claimed not only the greatest attention, but the respect and admiration of all persons whom he *honoured* with a relation "of what he had done, of what he *alone* had done." His presumption, vanity, and boasts, deprived every other commander of all merit, and to believe him, "it was to him *alone*, that France and Buonaparte were indebted for the conquest of Italy:" *his head in the council, as well as his arm in the field, had procured the Corsican all his lustre and renown*; and if "he ever got an army under his own command and disposal, he would take upon himself, *before twelve months, to bring all the emperors, kings, and princes of Europe*, to the levies of the Directory at Luxemburgh, and to the bars of the Councils of Ancients and of Five Hundred, in the Thuilleries.

After having exhibited himself with so much modesty, moderation, and advantage, amongst his countrymen, Augereau returned to join his *worthy* friend Buonaparte, who was advancing with ninety thousand men into Carinthia and Friuli in pursuit of thirty-six thousand Austrians, weakened by continual fatigue, disheartened by repeated defeats, without magazines, tents, pay, or clothing, but

with full confidence in their new, youthful, and loyal commander, Archduke Charles, whose presence soon restored order, inspired courage, and obtained success, though made useless, not by the valour of the French commander, but by his intrigues, which brought about the peace of Leoben.

Whilst Buonaparte was signing this peace with Austria, he was planning the destruction of the ancient Republic of Venice, and he fixed upon the modern Gaul and barbarian, Augereau, to annihilate a republic, which owed its foundation to the invasion of the Goths, under Attila and other barbarians. Seduced by French emissaries, and irritated by French oppression, the inhabitants of *Terra Firma* had risen against the few republican soldiers, strolling and plundering in the *neutral* Venetian territory. Forty thousand peasants were in arms, and without the impolitic peace just concluded, they might have assisted the Austrians to cut off the retreat of the French army in Carinthia, and annihilated the troops left behind in that part of Italy.

Augereau, who commanded between the Adige and the Piave, alarmed at the progress of the insurrection, and masking the natural ferocity of his character, published a deceitful proclamation, proposing

proposing amnesty and oblivion, and promising redress, only to gain time, to suspend the activity and to divide the opinion of the insurgents, until Buonaparte's army could arrive and butcher them *en masse*, without resistance, disarmed or dispersed.

In the beginning of May 1797, Buonaparte, when he had collected a part of his army, published a declaration of war against Venice, founded upon the most unjust, absurd, and fabulous allegations; and immediately, *unresisted*, took possession of Terra Firma, where his soldiers lived uncontrouled, and, with his officers, robbed, violated, and murdered. Whilst the troops under Buonaparte acted in such an inhuman manner upon the Terra Firma, Augereau, with a division of 25,000 men, encamped within sight of the city of Venice, and there, as well as in all other places where Frenchmen meditated subversion and destruction, French plots and French intrigues had preceded French bayonets, and before it was occupied by French soldiers, it had been undermined, weakened, and distracted by French emissaries. On the 12th of May, Augereau entered the city without opposition; seized upon its arsenal and forts; established a democratical municipality from the very dregs of the people; imprisoned

prisoned and shot most of its first and best citizens, and pillaged every body who had any thing worth taking. Private as well as public property was in the most cruel, infamous, and disgraceful manner, seized by Augereau, his generals, officers, and privates of the army, and their attendant robbers, commissaries, agents, *savans*, and *philosophers*. Augereau's, and these his associates', rapacious and destructive fury, in eight weeks time bereft this ancient, famous, and beautiful city, of its liberty and independence; of its treasures, navy, magazines, monuments of the arts, and scientific and literary curiosities, which it had required nearly eight centuries to create, produce, collect, regulate, improve, and establish; and this Buonaparte and Augereau, in bitter mockery, called the REGENERATION of VENICE. It is in the same way French republicans have *regenerated*, and *intend to regenerate*, all countries, weak or wretched enough not to resist their shameless offers of a bloody fraternity. Not satisfied with these acquisitions, Augereau, by the orders of Buonaparte, laid on military contributions and forced loans, to the amount of *ninety millions*; and when these demands were gratified, and public requisitions could be urged no farther, the plunder of individuals was again licensed, and all sorts of property taken, seques-

sequestered, and sold, as avarice or wantonness directed the passion, the caprice, the inclination of the spoiler.

It was after these *patriotic* and *republican* transactions that Augereau complained to Buonaparte of not having yet, notwithstanding all his *great* services, made a fortune of above one hundred thousand crowns, and therefore demanded and obtained the place of President of the Military Tribunal at Verona, to try all nobles, all priests, and all other men of property, for instigating, or *not preventing* the late insurrection of their countrymen.

The jacobins and demagogues every where have extolled the *lenity* and *humanity* of Augereau, and the French republicans, on this occasion, *for executing only some few hundreds* of several thousands arrested, *accused*, or *suspected*; but a writer already quoted explains the *pure* motives of their *lenity* and *humanity*; and he proves, that if *only some few hundreds* lost their lives, *thousands and thousands* were bereft of their property, and of what makes life supportable. "Augereau had fixed a price upon the life of every person *suspected*, and appearing before his redoubtable tribunal; *the real or the supposed worth of his possessions was the value demanded for his life.*"—

Estates

Estates were there therefore pawned, mortgaged, or sold: the sacred treasures of churches, of convents, of saints, of orphan houses, hospitals, and religious communities, were disposed of and given up, to pay, as Augereau jocosely said, "*the prices of existence*;" and in six weeks Augereau pocketed six millions; and his *republican justice* and *generosity* condemned no man to death, who had the means and mind to pay for an acquittal.

Before Augereau had received this lucrative commission, he had been obliged to give up to his *virtuous* and *disinterested* chief, the one hundred thousand crowns he possessed; and of the six millions he made during his *short campaign* at Verona, Buonaparte borrowed two millions more, which Augereau tells every body *he has forgot to repay.*

The French officers of the army in Italy relate a number of anecdotes of Augereau's rapacity and cruelty. Many persons, who had advanced a part of their *price of existence*, were acquitted, but detained until they paid the remainder. The last two days before Augereau's commission expired, those, who from want of time or resources had been unable to procure the money required, were tried again and shot *en masse*; and they lost their lives with the cruel reproach of having

ing in vain ruined their families to preserve them, because Augereau never returned a sixpence of the sums he had extorted; and any body complaining was arrested as an accomplice, and shot as a conspirator.

One of Augereau's mistresses is seen in the *first* societies at Paris, and at the court of the First Consul, with a diamond cross, worth ten thousand Louis d'ors, which formerly belonged to a Madona at Padua, and paid for by the acquittal of six priests of the cathedral in that city; and Augereau wears a sword, of which the handle is set with the same diamonds and jewels, that formerly decorated the cross of a Christ in the church of San Marc, at Venice. These, and other particulars of the same sort, could not be known, if Augereau had not the barefaced impudence to relate them, to boast of, and laugh at them himself.

Whilst Buonaparte, Augereau, and other revolutionary generals, were thus, "the vagrant butchers of mankind," and employed in ruining the inhabitants of foreign countries, the republican directory in France occupied itself in preparing the slavery, proscription, or death of all loyal men at home, who opposed their usurped tyranny. A *citizen* of Augereau's unfeeling character, and so devoted

devoted to the perpetration of crimes, was therefore not left unnoticed. According to his instructions, he procured, or rather commanded, unconstitutional addresses from the officers and soldiers of his division in the army of Italy, vowing vengeance and destruction against every man who dared to *think*, *say*, or *print*, that Barras was a regicide assassin, Buonaparte his accomplice, and, with the two insolent and ignorant regicide directors, Rewbell and La Reveilliere, stained with the blood of their king, as well as with that of their countrymen. In reward for this, when the plan for a new revolution was ripe for execution, Augereau was appointed the commander at Paris, and of the army of the interior. In the morning of the 4th of September, 1797, accompanied by a numerous army, he invested the Thuilleries, and with a base and cowardly brutality, attacked, ill-treated, insulted, and arrested those unarmed representatives of the French people, who had shewn both courage and patriotism in defending the liberty, honour, and rights of their fellow-citizens, so often invaded and threatened by the vile republican rulers over degraded republican France. The ostentatious Augereau was on this day attended by a staff of nearly four hundred officers, all notorious men of blood, as Santerre, Tunk,

Tunk, Yon, Rossignol, and others of the same description; and under this escort the national deputies were carried, chained, to the Temple bastile. He appointed governor over this *republican state-prison*, another *republican*, General Dutertre, *who a month before had escaped* from *the gallies at Toulon*, where he had been confined under sentence of a court-martial *for robbery, assassination, and setting fire to the houses* of the wretched inhabitants in La Vendée. The inhumanity of this man did not defeat the expectations of Augereau; the accused prisoners were strictly watched, and more insulted and tormented than if they had been the most guilty of all criminals: they were prevented from all communication with their relations, parents, and friends; and by the sequestration of their property, they were unable to procure the most common necessaries for the voyage they were doomed to make.

On the day of their departure from Paris, *after having been condemned to transportation without any trial*, Augereau called them over, and, as a guard, conducted them to the carriages that were waiting for them. They passed across a line of soldiers, mostly composed of Septembrizers, and other assassins, instructed to maltreat them, in order to provoke them, and thus to have some

cause

cause for dispatching them; but when Augereau observed their tranquillity, he could not contain his rage, which he suffered to break forth in a manner that deserves to be recorded.

Le Tellier, servant to the director Barthelemy, one of the prisoners, came running up as they were stepping into the carriages, with an order from the Directory to accompany his master. He delivered it to Augereau, who, having read it, said—"You are determined, then, to share the fate of these men, *who are lost for ever*. Whatever events await them, *be assured they will never return*." "My mind is made up," answered Le Tellier, "I shall be but too happy to share the misfortunes of my master." "Well then," replied Augereau, "*Go! fanatic, and perish with him*;" at the same time adding, "Soldiers, let this man be watched as closely as those miscreants." The barbarity of the republican commander, and the generous affections of a French servant, deserve both to be recorded and remembered, as they prove that in modern republics, where, and while audacious crime rules, virtue is often in fetters, and at all times neglected.

The carriages in which Augereau ordered the prisoners to be seated, without regard to their ill health, weakness, age, or infirmities, were placed upon

upon four-wheeled waggons, nearly resembling gun-carriages. They were a kind of cage, secured on all their four sides with bars of iron, breast high, which bruised the prisoners with the least shake or jolt. There were four in each carriage, besides the guard, who carried the key of the padlock that fastened the iron grating by which they entered, and when once locked up, in the morning, was never opened before night, whatever the sufferings or natural wants of the prisoners might be. In these cages, the loyal Generals Pichegru and Willot, the present Corsican senator Barthelemy, the consular minister Marbois, with twelve other victims of the atrocious *justice* of French republicans, travelled from Paris to Rochfort, upwards of five hundred miles.

Having thus served the vile passions of the Directory with so much satisfaction to their feelings, Augereau intrigued to become one of their members; but he was, by Barras, forced to content himself with the command over the army of the Rhine, and to succeed General Moreau, who was dismissed in disgrace, without any reason; whilst General Pichegru was sent into exile without any trial. This constituted the republican gratitude of the Great Nation toward its two greatest generals, and best citizens, to whom it is

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indebted, not only for all its aggrandizement, but for its existence, without a partition.

During the few months Augereau occupied his new command, he had no enemy to combat, because the peace of Campo-Formio had been concluded, and the Congress at Rastadt assembled. His head-quarters were near Offenberg, where this vain-glorious and insolent upstart took every opportunity to humiliate the German princes, and to treat with contempt the German negotiators. It was, however, not their complaints that caused him, in a short time, to be removed. He had surrounded himself with all those desperate characters, who had lately served under him at Paris; with them he plotted, and threatened the Directory itself for not being chosen a Director. He was, therefore, under a pretext of an expedition against Portugal, sent to languish in obscure idleness with the garrisons on the British frontiers; and the Directory never trusted him with any other command.

In March 1799, Augereau was, by the threats and intrigues of the jacobins, elected a member in the Council of Five Hundred for the department of Upper Garonne; and when Buonaparte on the 10th November following usurped the throne of the Bourbons, and dethroned his benefactors

factors the Directory, Augereau quitted and deserted his post in the Council, unexpectedly attended on the Corsican, and threw himself into his arms, exclaiming—"General, you have not called me to you; but it is the same; I wait upon you, notwithstanding, with a *true republican cordiality.*" For this *disinterested* declaration, Buonaparte nominated him the French commander in chief in the Batavian republic.

The ruling passions of Augereau are avarice, ambition, and cruelty. From his first arrival in Holland, he insisted upon greater prerogatives, and more honours and respect from the Dutch, than had ever been shewn any Stadtholder. While, in 1793, the Hereditary Prince of Orange, as commander in chief over the army of the States-general, had no more than three thousand florins in the month for his table, Augereau, in 1799, compelled the Batavian government to allow him fifteen thousand florins for the same purpose. The least opposition to his pretensions or extortions, he resented brutally, in a way becoming the *generous* nation he represented; but in the highest degree humiliating to the government of an *independent* ally, whom he was sent to assist and to protect. One day, in the presence of his staff, *he kicked two of the Dutch Directors*

out of his room; and the next day, *he publicly caned the War-minister on the parade*; and when the Dutch regiments at the Hague murmured at his brutal behaviour, he sent all the officers of these regiments to prison, and disarmed the soldiers. Some of the former, and several of the latter, were afterwards condemned by him to be shot as mutineers.

Exhausted as the Dutch had already been, by French oppression, plunder, and vexations, Augereau obliged them to send into the field, against Austria, a more numerous army than they had furnished at any former period. Some French divisions having been united with the Dutch troops, this was called the *Gallo-Batavian* army, and he acted with it in Franconia, during the campaign of 1800; but although opposing or pursuing an enemy vastly inferior in strength, he neither distinguished himself by any judicious manœuvres, bold attacks, decisive battles, nor became noted for any brilliant success. By his conduct, he confirmed the opinion of Carnot, and other competent military judges, that he is a good grenadier, a tolerable military partisan, having doubtless capacity to head, or lead on a division, but is totally unfit to command an army as a chief."

During a command of only sixteen months in Holland

Holland and Germany, Augereau *gained* two millions of florins, 180,000l.; and he is said to have at present a fortune, of which the interest brings him yearly, 800,000 livres.

For the last two years, and until lately, Augereau has been out of favour with the Corsican, of whom he speaks with great contempt, and who, in his turn, has used him with such an insulting neglect, that nobody but a man of Augereau's character, haughty with his inferiors, or with the weak, and abject with his superiors, or with the powerful, could support, or not revenge.

Many persons in France pretend that he has bought his present command over the army assembling between Bourdeaux and Bayonne, the real destination of which is not known; some think it intended to attack Portugal, whilst others send it to invade Ireland. Berthier, Buonaparte, Moreau, and Massena, agree with Carnot, that, "an expedition into any country where resistance is expected, and talent and not audacity, required, can never, with any prospect of success, be entrusted to Augereau." In a war against Portugal, he will have few battles to fight, but a rich country to pillage: his march first towards the Tagus is, therefore, probable; but it does not exclude the possibility of Ireland being the ultimate purpose.

Augereau has been the scourge of all countries where his arms have penetrated, and he openly declares, that what other nations have suffered from his presence, shall soon be thought trifles, compared with what he destines England and Ireland, when once landed.

When in France, either occupied or unemployed, he has always led a life so crapulous and debauched, that it has even scandalized his vicious and immoral countrymen.

Many pretend that Augereau has shewn courage, though all his valorous performances had only plunder for their object, and he always was backed by numerous republican banditties, as eager for rapine as himself. If such deeds constitute courage, an English highwayman is more courageous, because he attacks *singly*, exposed to the defence and resistance of those he assails, and if he escapes their swords or pistols, the gibbet of the offended laws of his country awaits him.

To finish the life of this republican general, it is necessary to relate, that according to Carnot's Memoirs, when Augereau in 1796 had an audience of the Directory, the attorney Rewbell said to his directorial colleagues—"*Il a bien l'air d'un factieux, quel fier brigand!*" and this fierce brigand was ten months afterwards charged by Rewbell

Rewbell to violate the constitution of his country to oppress, enslave, and transport his countrymen *."

LASNES.

THE Consular grenadier ambassador at Lisbon, General Lasnes, is, according to the French papers, appointed the chief of the staff in the army under Augereau, destined to invade Portugal and Ireland.

Lasnes was born in a village near Perpignan, where his father kept a wine-vault, and lodgings for smugglers, waggoners, mule-drivers, and other persons of the same description. He was in 1784, bound apprentice to a dyer, whom, after pilfering, he left, and listed into a regiment of dragoons, from which, in some few months, he deserted, and the Revolution found him a groom with the postmaster at Montelimar in Dauphiny. He soon

* Several of the particulars of this general's life are taken from Les Annales du Terrorisme, Dictionnaire Biographique, Ramel's Journal, Secret Memoirs of the 18th Fructidor, Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie, and other works.

became

became conspicuous there, amongst the patriotic brigands, who, in 1789, laid waste that unfortunate country, murdered or proscribed all men of property, and plundered or divided their possessions.

Recommended by the jacobins of that province, he returned in 1796 to Perpignan, where he was chosen an officer in the national guard, and to the terror of all good and loyal men, directed most of the cruel transactions of the jacobin club of that city; he was the denouncer and accuser of Colonel Adhemar and the officers of the regiment of Cambresis, the cause of their transportation in chains to the prison of Orleans, and of their massacre at Versailles on the 9th of September, 1792.

In 1793, when war was declared against Spain, Lasnes was promoted to the rank of chief of battalion; and in 1794, to that of colonel, by the recommendation of General Dugomier. In the beginning of the same year, backed by the then reigning jacobins and terrorists, he married the daughter of a capital merchant at Perpignan, contrary to the wishes of her parents, and her own inclination; afterwards, when he had squandered away her fortune, and was acquainted with his present wife, who was for two years his mistress, he divorced, and left her in the greatest distress with

with a child; her parents having died in prison, where Lasnes had confined them as lunatics, because they believed in a God, and he wanted their property.

During Barras's missions in the South of France, Lasnes had made himself noticed for his *famous patriotism*, and was therefore appointed an adjutant-general under Buonaparte. When, in 1795, the regicide National Convention, contrary to the avowed opinion of the sovereign people in France, desired to continue its oppression and tyranny over Frenchmen, by having two-thirds of its detested members re-elected in the Councils of the Five Hundred, and of the Ancients, and the sections and citizens at Paris opposed this violation of their rights, surrounded with the mutilated carcases of eight thousand Parisian men, women, and children, butchered by their bayonets and cannons, Lasnes and Buonaparte, for the first time, fraternized together; and so congenial were the feelings of these two revolutionary characters, that when, by the influence of Barras the Directory nominated Buonaparte the commander in chief over the army in Italy, the latter demanded the rank of a general of brigade for Lasnes, and employed him as such during

ing the campaigns 1796 and 1797. He distinguished himself in Italy on several occasions, particularly at the passage of the Po, on the 7th of May 1796; at the battle of Fombio, and in the affair at Arcole on the 16th November following, when he was severely wounded.

When the cruelty and plunder of the French marauders in Lombardy had produced an universal discontent, which broke out in several partial insurrections, Lasnes received from his Corsican friend the honourable commission to silence complaints and clamour by terror and ferocity; and by burning and shooting, make the republicans as much dreaded as they were already abhorred. Some revolts in the Imperial bailiwicks near Genoa, were punished by him with an atrocious severity. In May 1796, he ordered every house in the village of Binosco to be burnt, after being first plundered by his soldiers, and two hundred of the inhabitants to be shot upon the smoking ground of their former mansions, after having been forced to see their wives and daughters violated before their eyes. In the next month, six villages near Tortona, with their inhabitants, shared the same dreadful fate. On this occasion, Lasnes condemned every man above fifteen years

years of age to die; and every woman or girl under thirty, to surrender themselves to the disgusting embraces of his vile soldiery, under pain of being thrown alive into the flames of their burning habitations.

In 1798, Lasnes went with Buonaparte to Egypt, and when he deserted his army, accompanied him back again to France. In the Revolution effected by the Corsican in November 1799, Lasnes had a great share. He was first the commander of the important post at the Thuilleries, and afterwards in the hall of the Council of Ancients.

When Buonaparte apprehended no longer any resistance in the capital, he sent Lasnes to restrain and to keep in subjection the restless jacobins in the south of France, and, in particular, those at Toulon. Having, to the satisfaction of the consular government, but at the expence of the lives of many of his former jacobin accomplices, calmed, if not quieted, that part of the republic, he was made the successor of General Murat, as chief over the consular guard at Paris. In this place he tried more to cultivate the friendship and confidence of his officers and men, than to obtain the favours of the First Consul: he acted more as a person who intended to succeed him, than one who

who wished to strengthen or preserve his usurpation. Of all despots, the military are the most suspicious; Buonaparte soon observed the manœuvres of his general, and on ordering the examination of the guard's military chest, a deficit was discovered, amounting to five hundred thousand livres, which Lasnes had distributed among the soldiers, well knowing, that where bayonets elevate a tyrant into power, bayonets too can destroy the tyrant with the tyranny; the usurper with the usurpation. Upon this discovery Lasnes was immediately put under arrest, and many of the courtiers expected that he would either be shot or transported; but after a private conversation of three hours with the Consul, during which he is said to have hinted, he had taken care, that neither the political secrets of Italy, nor the poisonous deeds of Syria, should perish with him, he was sent in an honourable exile as ambassador to Portugal. His insolent conduct in that country is well known, and that in trying to prevent the lawful trade with England, he abused and dishonoured his privileged character of a diplomatic agent, by introducing contraband commodities from France: and when his frauds and infamy were discovered, instead of being ashamed of his nefarious transactions,

tions, he impudently insisted upon the dismissal of those faithful servants to their king and country, who had loyalty enough to expose this new proof of French republican villany.

A short time before, the Regent had been the sponsor of Lasnes's child, and presented him with many valuable presents. Notwithstanding this liberal condescension, he wrote a threatening letter, and not receiving a satisfactory answer, deserted his post, and left the country without any farther ceremony. At his return to France, he was ordered not to approach within 30 leagues of Paris, but this *marked* disgrace was of short duration; and, when French ambition forced England to arm, after some months political chicanery, Lasnes assumed his former station, where his intrigues had already effected such changes in the military, as French pretensions might desire, but which English moderation and generosity alone, can prevent from being the ruin as well as the dishonour of Portugal.

The Lisbon mail of September 30, 1803, brought the painful news of the Regent having stood godfather to another child of this French emissary; and that, contrary to the etiquette of his court, he admitted Lasnes and his wife to his table. If any evidence be required of the de-

graded state of the Continent, this fraternity of a sovereign prince with a revolutionary sans culotte, and with his republican wife, once his mistress, may convince even the most incredulous.

MASSENA.

General Massena was born at Nice, where his father was a wine-merchant: at an early age he enlisted as a soldier in the service of his sovereign, the King of Sardinia.

When revolutionary France determined to spread abroad its dangerous and anti-social principles in every country of Europe, and its emissaries were expedited to select proper subjects as proselytes and propagators; persons who had capacity enough to do harm, but not honour or conscience to resist temptation, and remain loyal and virtuous; Massena was engaged to pervert the principles, or to undermine the fidelity of his Sardinian Majesty's soldiers and subjects. In his *patriotic* endeavours he succeeded so well, that in October 1792, when the jacobin General Anselme, without any previous declaration of war, invaded the county of Nice, the

the Sardinian troops, instead of defending the strong city and citadel of Nice, opened the gates, and laid down their arms, before an army not much superior in numbers to their own, consisting entirely of raw recruits and conscripts, forced to march by requisition backed by the guillotine. Massena was then only an ensign, but obtained immediately the rank of a captain amongst the French republicans. His local knowledge of the country, caused him in the ensuing campaign to be attached to the staff of the French army of the Maritime Alps, where, in a short time, his intrigues advanced him to be a general of brigade. During this campaign he distinguished himself for his ferocity and persecution against his own countrymen; but at the same time, contradictory as it is, for his great bravery against, and humanity shewn to the enemy. On the 24th November, 1793, he defeated the Sardinian army at Castel-Geneste, Bree, and seized upon Figaretto. At Ponte-di-Neva upon the Tanaro, on the 16th of April, 1794, he was victorious over the Austrians, and the next day made himself master of Ormia; and on the 29th of the same month, he contributed greatly to the victory at Saorgio, and was rewarded with the rank of a general of division. During the campaign of 1795, he com-

manded the right wing of the army in Italy, and continued to make himself conspicuous by his activity, intelligence and valour. On the 29th of June he repulsed the Austrians, who had attacked his positions near Vado and Tersano; and, on the 20th of September, defended with success the post of Petit Gibraltar.

When, in 1796, Buonaparte assumed the command in Italy, he was an entire stranger in the army, over which his own and Barras' crimes and intrigues had made him the chief. His officers disliked him as a terrorist and as a Corsican, and his soldiers did not confide in his talents as a general. He had but little experience, and no knowledge but from maps, of one of the most difficult countries in Europe to act on the offensive. By caresses and promises he gained over Massena, to whom he is principally indebted for the brilliant opening of the campaign on the 10th, 11th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th April, days so glorious for the French army. On the 14th of May, Massena entered Milan with the advanced guard of the French army; and on the 25th he occupied Verona, belonging then to the *neutral* republic of Venice. On the 22d of June he marched towards Roveredo, and repulsed the advanced posts of the Austrians under the command

mand of General Beaulieu. On the 6th of July he directed the attack upon the Austrian lines, between the Adige and the Lac de Guarda, and after a long resistance, carried them. Less fortunate on the 29th of the same month, when the enemy, after great slaughter, carried the important post La Corona, and forced him to retreat; and on the 2d of August, when in obedience to the orders of the general in chief, but contrary to his own judgment, he assaulted Lonado, his troops were repulsed, routed, and surrounded, and he had already lost six hundred men, and three pieces of cannon, when the fortunate Buonaparte advanced to his relief, disengaged the prisoners, retook the artillery, drove away the enemy, and entirely changed the fortune of the day. During the remainder of the campaign, Massena marched from success to success, with the only exception at Scalda-ferro, where he, on the 7th November, met with a check.

On the 13th of March, 1797, he defeated by Cadon a division of the Imperial troops under the command of General Count de Lusignan, and obliged the general to surrender himself a prisoner. In a few days after, he made himself master of the fort La Chinsa, forced the passage of Cassa Sola, put the enemy in confusion, notwith-

standing their formidable entrenchments, took several hundreds prisoners, and all their magazines. Towards the end of the same month, he obtained new advantages at Tarvis and Clagenfurt. It was on this last occasion that the Archduke Charles, perceiving that a division of his army was in danger of being surrounded by two columns of the enemy, sent a strong body of troops against Massena, who commanded one of them. In consequence of a phenomenon not unusual in a mountainous country, a battle was literally fought upon this occasion *above the clouds*, and the Austrians were again beaten, and pursued by the French cavalry, first across hills covered with snow, and at last along the ice. A few days after this, General Massena was fortunate enough to fall in with a detachment of the Imperialists, and his troops were vastly superior in number: after a slight engagement, he seized on all the heavy artillery and nearly the whole of the baggage, belonging to the Austrian army.

In the beginning of April, Buonaparte dispatched Massena to Vienna, charged with a mission relative to a peace, from which city he went to the head-quarters of the Archduke Charles, at Durlach, on the 1st of May, and after an audience of two hours, continued his way to Paris, where

where his commander had sent him to procure from the Directory the ratification of the preliminaries of peace lately concluded and signed by him at Leoben. He was received in the capital with the greatest joy, pomp and magnificence. On the 18th of May, the Directory gave him a feast in the hall of the Odeon, which ended by a ball, and a banquet of eight hundred covers.

This reception caused some jealousy in the suspicious mind of the envious Corsican, who therefore did not chuse Massena as a companion in his favourite projects in Egypt, but recommended him to the command over the army in the Roman territory, destined to create an atheistical mock republic upon the ruins of christianity and the papal power.

Augereau is considered the first, and Massena the second, of all the French republican marauders. The French army, in advancing towards Rome under General Berthier, had promised to respect the government, the religion, and all property, public as well as private; but no sooner were they masters of Rome, than the Pope was arrested, a republic proclaimed, religion annihilated; the temples, the convents, the shrines of saints, the archives, the museums, the possessions of the chief of the state, and of religion, with those of

indivi-

individuals, were all plundered in mass by the organized republican pillage called requisition. The most costly and valuable articles, the most beautiful paintings and statues were sequestrated, disposed of, or sent to France. The Vatican was entirely stripped, from the most precious furniture of the state chambers, to the most trifling utensil in the kitchen; the sacerdotal vestments and shrine of the Sistine Pauline, and other pontifical chapels, were burnt for the sake of the gold and silver contained in the embroidery; the Vatican library was plundered, and the Pope's private collection of books sold to a bookseller for nine hundred pounds sterling. All other property of the Pope, his two nephews, the Cardinals York, Albini, and of all other noblemen, who by withdrawing from French republican tyranny were considered as emigrants, was confiscated and sold; and nothing could exhibit in a more detestable view the profligate vandalism of an army attended by a corps of *savans*, than the destruction of the villa Albani, a place which, for situation, elegance, erudition of antiquity, and exquisite works of art, was without a rival.

Besides the plunder derived from these direct robberies, Massena had recourse to the accustomed French means of forced loans and contributions.

tions. Private property was thus placed entirely at the mercy of the invaders, who compelled merchants, tradesmen, and artists, to part with every article of value in their possession, including not only their stock in trade, and finished works, but even their knives, forks, spoons, and every thing which contained any portion of gold and silver. The acts of extortion were finally practised to such barbarous excess, that gold and silver being exhausted, and the merchants and shopkeepers drained of all their stock, which was exported, the copper-money was seized to complete the ballasting of ships, copper kitchen furniture was called in, a colossal bronze statue of Pope Corsini was melted to supply a base coin for circulation, and assignats were issued even so low as a penny sterling.

While the generals, commissaries, and *savans* were thus enriching themselves, the inferior officers had been nearly six months without pay. Apprehending that if the military chest, with all the plunder it contained, was removed, they would, in all probability, never be satisfied, they therefore assembled at the Pantheon, and peremptorily demanded that their pay should be issued in twenty-four hours, and that Massena should immediately give in his resignation. The sums required

quired by the officers were paid, but Massena, instead of giving up his command, published an address to the army, in which he proved that he had led the troops of France a hundred and eighty times to victory, and that he was the principal cause of preventing the Austrians from penetrating into the south of France during the campaigns of 1793, 1794, and 1795. His peculation on one part, and the intrigues and jealousy of the army administrators on the other, with whom he had not always shared as a lover of *equality*, had, however, made him so unpopular, that finding his presence occationed disturbances, he was obliged, after some efforts, to withdraw, as the only means of saving *the wages of his honesty*.

During his short command at Rome, Massena had no enemy to encounter, but only peaceable citizens to plunder. Having served with repute as a general of division, it therefore remained for him to shew his abilities as a general in chief. The Directory, according to the opinion of Buonaparte, in acknowledging his capacity and courage in executing the orders of others, did not suppose him to possess that extent of genius, and that *ensemble* of view absolutely necessary to lead armies to victory; but his campaign in Switzerland, in 1799, proves beyond a doubt, that although he

he cannot pretend to be placed on a line with a Pichegru, a Moreau, or a Buonaparte, it is but justice to rank him amongst the first revolutionary generals of the second class: he is above General Jourdan and Bernadotte, and equal to Berthier and Lecourbe.

In January 1799, Massena was nominated commander in chief over the French Helvetian army, destined to assist the grand army under Jourdan, by penetrating by the side of the Tyrol, and to enable France to anticipate the arrival of the Russians, and force the Emperor once more to sue for peace nearly under the walls of his own capital. But the talents of the Archduke Charles not only prevented the success of this plan, but by his glorious victory over Jourdan, uncovered the left wing of the army under Massena, who had already taken the field on purpose to drive the Austrians from the mountainous regions inhabited by the Grisons; and accordingly had marched against them, forced the important pass of Lucienstieg, and obliged the enemy to retire into the Tyrol, pursued by detachments under Le Courbe and Dessolles, towards the sources of the Inn and Adige, by which Massena secured a double entrance into Italy and Germany at the same time. The defeats of Jourdan, however, prevented

prevented France from reaping any advantages from the conquests of Massena, who was forced to convert the contest from an offensive to a defensive warfare.

After the Austrian General Nauendorff had obtained possession of Shaffhausen, and General Hotze recaptured Luciensteig, the capital of the Grisons, Coire was seized on, and the republicans forced to evacuate the whole of the country. Massena, to gain time, to be enabled to receive reinforcements, and to occupy at the same time the Imperialists, took different positions near Wintherthur, on the banks of the Tress and of the Glatt, but from which he retired in succession as soon as assaulted. He assumed at last a strong position in front of Zurich, which he had carefully prepared some time before. It was a chain of fortified mountains, situated between the Limmat and the Glatt; he added to the strength bestowed on it by nature, all that art could supply, and having posted his two flanks on the adjoining hills, and covered his centre with a chain of closed redoubts, patiently waited the approach of the Imperialists. At first his left wing was menaced by the Generals Jellachich and Hotze, with a view of inducing him to quit his position; but as he remained firm, it was determined

termined to make a regular attack. A column of Austrians accordingly assailed, on the 4th of June, that portion of his army posted on the Zurich-Berg; but he declined a retreat, although another under Prince Reuss had advanced to support the former.

The Archduke, who was not aware of the strength of this post, lost a great number of his infantry, and the Generals Hotze, Wallis, and Hiller, were wounded upon this occasion, while four French officers of equal rank experienced a similar fate. He, however, determined to renew the assault two days after, and accordingly, on the 6th of June, reconnoitred the entrenchments in person; but Massena, who had suffered as much as the Archduke, knowing that if his entrenchments were forced, he would be obliged to retire through Zurich, where his extortions had made the inhabitants disaffected, thought proper to withdraw across the Limmat, during the preceding night, leaving to the victors his entrenchments, with thirty pieces of cannon, and the city of Zurich.

After the evacuation of this city, Massena took a new position on the chain of mountains called Albis, being the nearest, safest and strongest he could assume. Here it was impossible to force

him with the weakened and harassed troops under the command of the Archduke, before some time for repose, and proper previous measures had been taken. Except some skirmishes, nothing occurred until the middle of August, when the French army of observation received orders to penetrate once more into Germany, and Massena began again to put his troops in motion.

No sooner had he received fresh reinforcements of twenty thousand men, than it was determined to move forward, and re-commence operations against the Archduke, before that prince had effected a junction with a large body of Russians, now in full march to Schaffhausen, under the command of General Reini-Korsakow. The system of operations Massena adopted upon this occasion was equally bold and successful. A column of the French army, detached across the Limmat, was fortunate enough to penetrate into the Austrian camp, and carry terror and dismay into that city, which it had been so lately forced to abandon. On the 15th of August, on the day succeeding this partial attack, another took place along the whole extent of the left wing; General Chabran having climbed the heights of Richterswyl, Etzel and Schindelezzi, and threatened to turn the position of Zurich, while Lecourbe, embarking

barking with a choice body of troops on board a flotilla prepared by him on the lake of the four cantons, landed at Fluellen, forced the famous pass of Devil's-Bridge, took possession of St. Gothard, and seized on the Valais.

At the moment the Archduke was employed in bringing up a body of the newly arrived Russians, to repair the misfortunes of this portion of his army, a diversion took place in another quarter, which soon arrested his attention.

To relieve Massena from the joint pressure of the Austrians and Russians, the army of observation encamped in the neighbourhood of Mentz had been ordered to take the field. General Muller, to whose charge it was confided, accordingly established his head-quarters at Manheim, and pushed his advanced guards as far as Heidleberg; while Baraguy Hilliers, advancing with a body of troops drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, imposed a contribution upon Frankfort, passed the Maine, and joined his countrymen in the territories of Darmstadt.

No sooner did Prince Charles learn that a body of French troops, after entering Swabia, was levying contributions, and preparing to seize on the rich harvests of Germany, now left defenceless by his absence, than he sent forward a strong detach-

ment, and having conferred the command on General Hotze, soon after re-crossed the Rhine in person.

While the Austrian chief was thus employed in repressing the late incursion of the foe, Massena, taking advantage of his absence, determined once more to obtain a decided superiority in Helvetia, into which a considerable body of Russians had now penetrated, before the arrival of Suwarrow rendered a defensive system once more necessary. Accordingly, after a number of able evolutions, which enabled him to approach the object of his attention, he ordered Lecourbe, an officer skilled in that species of warfare adapted for mountainous regions, to enter the valley of the Grisons, and turn the left wing of the Allies, commanded by General Hotze, who was now defending the cause of loyalty on the summits of his native hills. He also detached General Lorges against the Russians, encamped on the opposite side of the Limmat; two columns, under the Generals Mortier and Klein, were at the same time directed to attack the centre; while Soult was to pass the Linth, and carry the advanced posts of the Austrians.

The success of this combined movement of Massena's army, on an immense line, stretching nearly

nearly from the country of the Grisons to the banks of the Rhine, was dubious: and it appeared probable, that partial defeats and successes, or at most an incomplete victory, might have rendered the action indecisive, when the unfortunate death of General Hotze, whose talents and energy had hitherto animated the Allies at the commencement of the action, rendered success certain, although not without considerable loss.

While the left wing, which had acted under Hoche's command, was obliged to retreat in confusion, the Russian General Korsakow, being unable, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of his countrymen, to oppose the repeated assaults of the French columns, which now pressed upon him from every side, found it necessary to retreat to Schaffhausen, and Zurich having been carried by assault, a body of his troops posted in that city was forced to surrender to Massena.

The immediate result of Massena's victory consisted in the immense slaughter of the enemy; the capture of five thousand prisoners, one hundred pieces of cannon, and fifteen standards, besides all the baggage and artillery of the Russians; their flight, first to the banks of the Thur, and then across the Rhine; but the remoter effects proved infinitely more disastrous to the cause of

the Allies, and enabled the French once more to obtain a manifest superiority on that central theatre, whence they could succour their armies in Italy, menace the Austrians on the side of their remote frontiers, and by keeping the war at a distance from the territories of the republic, ensure its tranquillity, and enforce the ambitious views of its despotic rulers.

While Massena had thus re-assumed the ascendancy in Helvetia, Suwarow, hitherto uniformly victorious, in pursuance of the new system of warfare adopted in an evil hour by the combined armies, was penetrating into that country at the head of about sixteen thousand men, which were all that remained after so many toils and battles. Fully assured of the co-operation of the Austrians, and also certain, as he imagined, to find at Zurich a considerable body of Russians, he had already crossed the plains of Piedmont, scaled and obtained possession of the heights of St. Gothard, after defeating the troops posted there by General Lecourbe, and was now about to enter the canton of Ury, when he received an imperfect account of the defeat of the Allies. Distressed and angry on the receipt of this sinistrous intelligence, but still determined to persevere, the intrepid veteran had recourse to threats, and intimated to General Korsakow,

Korsakow, that he " was marching to repair his errors," and that " he should answer with his head, if he made another retrograde step."

That unfortunate general immediately assembled the wreck of his troops, and having been joined by a body of Austrians, the corps of Condé and the Batavian contingent, determined to attempt a diversion in favour of Suwarow, by resuming his former position before Zurich, during the absence of the French commander. But Massena, who had so lately dispelled the charm, in consequence of which the Russians were supposed to be invincible, proved his superiority over his rivals, by following up, and taking advantage of his recent success. He accordingly detached a column towards Altorf, and strengthened Lecourbe's detachment, now disputing every inch of ground with the invaders, in the neighbourhood of Glaris; and securing all the intermediate passes, so as to render a nearer approach not only uninviting, but even fatal.

In the mean time, Suwarow displayed all the talents of a resolute leader; who had not only the army of a numerous and victorious enemy to combat, but the dissatisfaction and mutiny of his own troops to suppress. After numerous, and almost incredible hardships, amidst, incessant toils and

and daily engagements, he arrived at last in the valley of Mutten, and took possession of the bridge, after a most obstinate resistance. The post of Brunnen was also carried the next day, but unfortunately, here ended the progress of the invaders; for Massena not only sent supplies to the detachment under Lecourbe, but shut up the passage between the lakes of Wallenstadt and Zurich, and posted a body of troops in so judicious a manner, in the neighbourhood of the ancient abbey of Einsidlen, that all further approach in the face of a superior army was interdicted. Suwarow therefore, for the first time in his life, was forced to begin a retreat; which, notwithstanding all dangers and difficulties, he effected in a masterly manner.

No sooner had Massena ascertained that Suwarow was prepared to submit to his fate, than multiplying as usual his means by his celerity, he marched with his utmost speed against Korsakow, hitherto kept in check by General Ferino, and having come up with the Allies, immediately commenced a terrible attack. The right wing, partly unable to withstand the shock, and partly intimidated by the late events, immediately gave way; but the left, chiefly composed of loyal emigrants, stood firm, and being led on by the grand-

son,

son of the Prince of Condé, displayed their wonted valour; and discovered that the French Nobles, when brought into the field, were likely to prove the most formidable adversaries of the French Republicans.

A short time after these brilliant successes of Massena in Switzerland, Buonaparte effected a revolution at Paris; and although a known hatred subsisted between him and Massena, invited the latter to Paris, that he might consult with him about the plan for the ensuing campaign.

In December 1799, General Championet, the French commander of the army near Genoa, died of an epidemic fever, which made great ravages amongst his men, and in the frontier towns on the borders of Italy; and Massena was appointed his successor.

Massena found this army overwhelmed with the miseries of want and disease, disorganized, licentious, and incapable of subordination. Insurrections were frequent at Genoa, and during the remainder of December, the Austrian Generals Klenau and Hohenzollern made vigorous, though unsuccessful, efforts to gain this valuable city by a coup-de-main. The presence of Massena, and his talents, courage, and patience, resisted the attack from without, and the plots from within;

within; and with a handful of men, shut up in various posts from the Bochetta to the Alps of Dauphiny, suffering every privation and hardship, he rendered for a long time ineffectual all the attempts of a superior enemy to get possession of the city of Genoa, blockaded by Austrians, and bombarded by an English fleet.

In the beginning of April 1800, the Austrian General Melas determined to change the blockade into a regular siege. Having previously addressed to his troops a proclamation, reminding them of the glory they had acquired last year, and the necessity of maintaining it by new exploits, he attacked the Bochetta in person, while Field-marshal Baron Elnitz assailed the heights of Vado, and another column of the army reached Savona, by the road of Acqui and Sassello. The combined efforts drove Massena into Genoa, while a British squadron continued to cruize off the coast; and the Austrian commander made great exertions to gain the surrounding heights.

A party at Genoa, adverse to the French interest, facilitated the publication and dispersion of a proclamation from General Melas, assuring the inhabitants, that his intentions were not to subdue or subjugate, but deliver them from a yoke which had reduced them to a condition truly deplorable.

He

He promised to respect property, and defend the true religion, to establish a provisional government, make their harbour a free port, and protect their commerce. These offers were rendered more tempting by the blockade of the port by Lord Keith, and the general want of provisions, which obliged Massena to have recourse to great severities to limit the consumption.

Before the end of April the Austrians took possession of the heights of Montenotte and San Giacomo, made themselves masters of Finale, Vado, and Savona, and drove General Suchet, whom Massena had sent to command that division of his army, after many severe conflicts, into the county of Nice. At this very time the besiegers gained possession of the suburb of Genoa, called San Pietro d'Arena, but made an unsuccessful attempt to surprize the gate called La Lanterne. Beset with internal as well as external foes, and determined to defend his post to the last extremity, Massena took measures for organizing the Cisalpine refugees within the walls, invited the citizens to deposit their private stock of provisions in the public stores, and by proclamations, exhorted his followers to resist the efforts of malevolence, and maintain good discipline. He animated the inhabitants to endure with firmness the rigours of

a siege,

a siege, affirming the promises of Austria to be insidious, and her views treacherous, and reminding them of the glorious defence made by themselves, unaided, in the year 1746. These efforts produced excellent effect, but did not diminish their wants or necessities. So little flour remained, that on the tenth day of the siege the inhabitants were reduced to four ounces of bread each, as a daily allowance; but the slaughter of horses supplied the shambles, and wine and brandy were in abundance.

Lord Keith having landed at Voltri the heavy artillery necessary for the siege, and the Austrians being masters of Savona, and of all the surrounding heights, the operations were secure from interruption; and Melas, fearing that the loss of much time on this object would frustrate the general plan of the campaign, changed the siege again into a blockade, relying on the effects of famine rather than the operations of force or skill. Leaving, therefore, Generals Ott and Hohenzollern with fifty battalions before the city to observe Massena, and to repulse his sorties, he, on the 25th of April, marched with the remainder of his troops towards San Giacomo, to attack the French under Suchet and Rochambeau in the county of Nice. For the five weeks following,

lowing the strict maintenance of the blockade by the Austrian army and the British fleet, reduced the garrison and the inhabitants to the most deplorable state of want. At last, on the 4th of June, Massena, unsubdued by force of arms, and reduced by famine alone, found himself under the necessity of yielding to the repeated solicitations of the people, and of submitting to his destiny. Accordingly, notwithstanding the late success of Buonaparte, whom the ignorance of Melas or treason had permitted to penetrate into Italy, and of which the rumour only had reached Massena, he at length determined to surrender on the very day that General Ott had received orders to abandon the blockade, and combine his movements with those of Melas, in order to put a stop to the victorious career of the First Consul *.

As

* The Austrian general did more justice to Massena's merit, and to the bravery of his troops, than Buonaparte and his military sycophants. Before he changed the siege into a blockade, he wrote to him, and announced the defeat of General Suchet, who went to his relief, and proposed at the same time to give him a honourable capitulation. Amongst other proofs of his esteem for Massena's talents, he wrote—"General, la fortune n'a point secondé votre valeur, *qui seule vous rend digne de l'estime de l'univers entier*. Avec un petit nombre d'hommes, vous deviez succomber sous mes efforts, et vous y succomber avec honneur. Mais sacrifiez la gloire de vous defendre jusqu'a la derniere goutte de votre

An any delay might have been attended with the most fatal consequences, a liberal capitulation was immediately granted; in consequence of which, the garrison, now reduced to eight thousand and ten men, with their artillery and ammunition, were to be sent to France; allowance was given to such of the inhabitants as chose to retire thither also, and the prisoners made on both sides were to be delivered up, without exchange.

An official report, published at Genoa by Citizen Goffredini, in July 1800, mentions, that during the blockade and siege of that city, and in sixty-two skirmishes and sorties, 4266 Frenchmen were made prisoners, 5052 were killed, and 6012 wounded; 9544 Austrians were made prisoners, and upwards of that number killed. Of an epidemic fever which raged in the city, 3706 Frenchmen died in the hospitals, and 216 in private houses; of the inhabitants, 6384 died by the fever, and 20,493 by famine; and 196 were

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sang, a l'humanité et à *l'admiration que personne ne peut vous ôter.* Je vous offre la plus honorable capitulation," &c. &c.—To this letter Massena answered—"Monsieur le General! J'ai reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'ecrire, par laquelle vous m'offrez une capitulation honorable. Je ne suis pas encore dans cette extremité: il me reste assez de troupes pour vous prouver, que je puis me defendre, quand même le General Suchet seroit battu, ce que j'ai bien de la peine a croire. MASSENA.

killed

killed or wounded from the fire of the besiegers. So numerous were the ill-fated victims of a cruel duty, which forced Massena to regard with seeming indifference the ravages of pestilence, famine, and death within, and the assaults, bombardments, and firing from without. It is hardly possible to believe, that a man so situated could think of amassing treasures, and add pillage to other evils, was it not affirmed in the above-quoted report, *that during the time Massena commanded in Genoa, he accumulated, by requisitions from the living, and confiscations after death, the enormous sum of two millions five hundred thousand livres ! ! !*

Although Buonaparte was not quite satisfied with Massena for giving up Genoa before every soul in the city had perished, or, as he wrote, until "*toute la ville etoit un tombeau**," from policy he trusted him, however, with the command over the army of Italy, after the battle of Marengo, knowing that his severity would not make him liked by the soldiers, nor his avarice by the inhabitants of that country, and that, therefore, he was neither dangerous as a military rival, nor to be

* A letter from Buonaparte to Massena, inserted in Les Nouvelles a la Maine, Fructidor, an viii. No. 12, finishes with these words.

feared as a political conspirator. But Massena did not preserve this command longer than a month, when, by extortion, he increased his fortune with another million of livres. After repeated complaints, he was disgraced, and recalled to give an account of his financial transactions both at Genoa and in Lombardy. On his arrival at Paris, he was strongly reprimanded by the First Consul, in the presence of several general officers as *pure* as himself; but his droll, and not ironical answer, calmed the anger of Buonaparte, and silenced the envy of his enemies and fellow plunderers *.

From that period, Massena seldom appeared at court, but was, by the order of Buonaparte, watched by the police as suspected and disaffected. He in no company, however, concealed his hatred and contempt of the Corsican, and even dared him so far, as to buy an estate the distance of a

* When Buonaparte had finished his philippic, Massena told him with a submissive air: *Je suis un voleur*; and, fixing him, he said; *Tu es un voleur.* Looking next at General Murat, he continued, *Il est un voleur*; then, regarding the whole circle of Generals, he exclaimed, *Nous sommes des voleurs*; bowing to them all, he added, *Vous etes de voleurs*; and, in retiring, he said, *Oui Citoyen Consul, ils sont des voleurs.* Des republicains Francois tel est le caractere!

mile

mile only from Buonaparte's palace, Malmaison, for which reason, many persons in France believe that he left it for St. Cloud.

It is an observation worthy notice, that Massena, and all other republican generals who owe every thing to the Revolution, never confided in it, by laying out their riches in *national* estates; they purchased patrimonial property *only*.

Massena was always disliked by the officers and men under him, both for his severity and strict discipline, and for never sharing his plunder, not suffering any body but himself to plunder where he commanded. Being besides a foreigner, he certainly is *the only general of any approved talents*, whom Buonaparte dares to trust to lead on the troops in his desperate undertaking against this country. Massena is about forty-four years of age, of middling stature, and of a strong constitution; but his character is alike unfeeling, sensual and covetous.

ANDREOSSY.

ANDREOSSY was born a gentleman; an appellation, since the reign of equality, no longer fashionable in France: he pretends to be descended from the house of Medicis at Florence, which has given two Queens to France, several Popes to Rome, Grand Dukes to Tuscany, and Empresses and Queens to some Sovereigns in Germany and Italy.

Andreossy was educated as all other young gentlemen in France, who, before the Revolution, were destined for a military career. At an early age he shewed a great genius for the study of mathematics and other sciences, useful and necessary to constitute an able engineer. As his industry and inclination equalled his natural abilities, his progress was quick, and he thereby obtained, at the age of eighteen, a commission as a Lieutenant, in the corps of the King's Naval Engineers at Toulon. Possessing more pride than poverty, more ambition than loyalty, he from its beginning, joined a revolution which, by the resignation of the Royalists, promised rapid advancement; and by the proscription of all men of property,

placed

placed poverty on a level with fortune, with the prospect of sharing its spoils.

In 1792, when, after the fatal 10th of August, General Montesquieu received orders to invade, *without any previous declaration of war*, the territory of his Sardinian Majesty, Andreossy served under him as captain of artillery, and made himself conspicuous by his strict attention to his duty, and by the regularity of his conduct. He continued to serve in the Alps until 1794, when he was attached to the Staff of the Army, under General Dugomier, combating the Spaniards. He here again was distinguished for his ability and courage, particularly on the 1st of May at the battle of Alberdes, and at the capture of Bellegrade on the 17th September following; but at this period of the Revolution, while ignorant and impertinent sans culottes were promoted without any other reason, than because they called themselves *exclusive patriots*, or any other merit, but that of being known jacobins, Andreossy's birth, and manners of a gentleman, united with his talents, alarmed the suspicious republican tyrants, and it was only by continuing to remain in an inferior situation, without claiming rewards or pretending to rank, he escaped imprisonment, and perhaps the guillotine. It was first in February 1796 when he

was nominated chief of battalion, in one of the regiments of artillery, in the army under Buonaparte, who soon remarked how valuable he was as an officer, and respectable as a citizen.

On the 18th of July, at an assault on Mantua, he made with five gun-boats a feint attack, and by drawing the attention of the enemy to this point, lessened the dangers and difficulties of Generals Murat and Dallemagne, who made a real one, rather to reconnoitre the enemy's strength and position, than to conquer the place. For his valour on this day, Buonaparte made him a chief of brigade, and until the surrender of Mantua, he continued with these gun-boats to harass the Austrians, to intercept their convoys by water, and to repulse and defeat their armed vessels, destined to procure them provisions, by protecting their sorties; and he therefore contributed highly to the capture of this important city, which famine, and not arms forced to capitulate. On the 19th of May 1797, he gave another proof of his intrepidity: charged by Buonaparte to examine, if, contrary to report, the river Losinzo was not fordable: he, without any hesitation, precipitated himself into the middle of a rapid current, and after swimming for some time, found a place where he could pass and repass on foot.

When

When the peace of Campo Formio permitted Buonaparte to pursue his ambitious plans against the British possessions in the East Indies, *by invading a province appertaining to an ally of the French Republic*, the Directory gave him *carte blanche*, not only to choose all the troops he desired for this expedition, but even to select from the different French armies, those generals and officers, whose talents he judged useful or necessary to the success of his undertaking. Of Andreossy's capacity and bravery Buonaparte had no doubt, and of his attachment to his person; of his discretion he had seen repeated proofs, during the two campaigns in Italy; he was therefore one of the first officers in whom Buonaparte confided, by giving him orders to keep himself ready to embark at Toulon, for Malta and Egypt; and during the passage from France for these places, he was the only officer of equal rank, whom the commander in chief admitted into the same ship with him.

A prey to invasion from the earliest times, the fertile Egypt hath beheld, during two and twenty centuries, a succession of conquerors; none of whom, however, before Buonaparte, brought them slavery and wretchedness, in the names of liberty and equality; or death and destruction, in the

the name of fraternity. His predecessors, the Persian, Macedonian, Grecian, Roman, Arabian, Georgian, and Turkish invaders, never pretended to arrive as friends: in acting as the most barbarous enemies, they never, in imposing a new bondage, said they were breaking their former fetters; they did not, by committing rapine and murder, talk of respect for persons and property; nor in preaching atheism, publish that they reverenced their religion. This abominable French republican cant, and hypocrisy, was reserved for Buonaparte and his satellites, as the last test of depraved minds, as devoid of humanity and integrity, as incapable of honour.

At the landing of Buonaparte, on the 2d of July 1798, in the desert, nine miles from Alexandria, Andreossy belonged to the staff of the army, and debarked with its commander. He was therefore a witness of, if not an actor in, the sanguine and perfidious policy of Buonaparte at Alexandria; by immediate terror, to preclude future resistance. This city, without any means of defence, and with a feeble garrison, was stormed by a numerous army; who, contrary to the laws of war of civilized nations, sent no previous summons. The Turks, assailed on every side by so large a force, made the best resistance, which courage,

courage, unaided by tactics, could supply; about a hundred and fifty of the French were killed, and Generals Kleber and Menou wounded. Seeing the invaders scaling the ramparts, and forcing themselves in on every side, the Turks desisted from an unprofitable opposition, and betaking themselves to God and their prophet, filled the mosques. The republicans with cannibal rage pursued; men and women, old and young, children at the breast, all were massacred; and *this labour of depopulation lasted four days*. Glutted with carnage, the troops at length desisted; and the few inhabitants who remained alive, were exceedingly astonished at finding that the invaders did not cut their throats also *. On this glorious occasion, Andreossy received a slight wound.

After this display of a thorough disregard to all laws both human and divine, had procured Buonaparte the possession of Alexandria, he determined to march towards Cairo. Andreossy being now promoted to the rank of a general of brigade, was, with General Perée, ordered to fit out with all possible dispatch, some gun-boats and armed

* In detailing this diabolical scene, the Author has not ventured to alter the phrases in which it was narrated by the actors themselves. See Intercepted Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 1, 13, 19, 130, and 150.

shallops,

shallops, and with them advance towards Rhamanieh, to protect the French against an armed flotilla of the Beys, which was descending the Nile on purpose to attack them. The brave, but improvident and irregular assaults of the Mamelukes, were soon repulsed, and when their land forces were dispersed, their naval armaments were added to those of the republicans, and served until the arrival of the English, only to protect and escort their transports and convoys on the Nile.

In his proclamation to his troops, before he embarked at Toulon, Buonaparte declared, that he had undertaken this expedition *for the good of mankind*. As the cruel butchery at Alexandria rather contradicted this assertion, a national institute, which he established at Cairo, was intended not only to confirm his promise, to palliate the crimes committed, but to give his European friends, philosophers, innovators, and admirers, some reasons for execration, and some arguments for panegyric and commendation. Of this *national* institute, Andreossy was elected a member, but according to Tallien's *Literary* Journal, the only task this *Literary* Society imposed upon the general, was *the sounding the roads of Damietta*.

In the spring 1799, Buonaparte marched towards

wards Syria, to chastize Djezzar Pacha of St. Jean d'Acre, who had declined his offers of fraternity, and perhaps to find his way back to France, by causing a revolution in the tottering Turkish empire; but the English hero, Sir Sidney Smith, stopped his progress, annulled his plans, and by native British valour, tore from the Corsican's brow, laurels dishonoured and stained by indiscriminate slaughter and poison! and a career of victory, hitherto uninterrupted, was for the first time forced to endure the chastening hand of adversity. General Andreossy commanded a brigade of the French troops, both before Jaffa and before Acre. During the attack of this last place, by discovering some fords across the river, which runs within fifteen hundred yards of its walls, and guiding the army in passing it in the night of the 17th of March, he did such essential service, that in the public orders of the next day, he received the thanks of the commander in chief. When Buonaparte was obliged to decamp from before Acre, Andreossy was one of the generals whom he charged to cover his retreat, which he did in such a masterly manner, that the troops under him suffered less than those under the command of any other general; and in protecting his countrymen, he made besides, a

number of Turks and Arabs prisoners, without sustaining any loss himself.

After a disgraceful return to Egypt, from an excursion in which he had promised himself so much glory; Buonaparte went to reside at Cairo, where not only the curses of the inhabitants of all countries where he carried his arms, but even those of his own soldiers, accompanied him. Andreossy assisted him here on several occasions, to quell the mutinous spirit of his troops, and to counteract the plots of his discontented generals and officers; and he was therefore rewarded with the entire confidence of his chief.

So close had been the blockade of Egypt by the British fleet, and so difficult all communication with other countries, that the affairs of Europe were but imperfectly known to Buonaparte; and the late events there, had only reached him, by the *indiscreet and impolitic* intervention of the enemy. Astonished at obtaining intelligence of a new war, as well as of the multiplied disasters which accompanied its progress; he determined to return to Europe, and to desert in a most cowardly manner, and in the most wretched condition, the remainder of an army, brought to Africa by his outrageous ambition, to which so many had already fallen the victims. Had his base design been

been discovered, it is very probable that, both from the officers and men, he would have met with that punishment his crimes and desertion deserved. He therefore, prior to the event, communicated his intentions to nobody but Berthier. Of the four generals whom he fixed upon to accompany him in his flight, Andreossy was one; but he had not confidence in him, nor in any of the other generals except Berthier, as to the object of his orders to hold themselves ready for an embarkation. They all went on board in consequence of sealed instructions, which they were to open upon the beach only, and they sailed for France, when they believed that their destination was Syria or Candia. As of the ninety-two generals attached to the army in Egypt, Andreossy was one of the youngest, this preference proves that he was a favourite before Buonaparte was First Consul, and accounts for the many trusty places and employments he since that period has enjoyed.

When Buonaparte had succeeded in overthrowing his friends of the Directory, and in usurping the supreme power in France, Andreossy was appointed a general in division, a chief of the staff in the army of the interior, and a joint assistant to the minister of the war depart-

ment. In all these situations, he conducted himself so much to the satisfaction of Buonaparte, that when the peace of Luneville ended the continental war, and England was the only enemy the French Republic had to encounter; and a committee of chosen naval and military men was created, purposely to devise some plan, and direct their talents to make an invasion of England not only possible, but successful, Andreossy was one of its members. It was according to their plans that Boulogne was fortified, and made a point of union for a fleet of gun-boats, and that Cherbourg and Antwerp were decreed naval stations of the first rank, as well as Brest and Toulon.

It surprized many in France, and caused early doubts of Buonaparte's sincerity in the pacification with England, when he selected Andreossy an ambassador to, and a preserver of peace with, a nation whose destruction for the preceding twelve months had been his only occupation and study.

But this was not the only circumstance worth noticing, on seeing this French general ambassador to Great Britain. When at last, after some political chicanery, Andreossy went to England, a French army was collecting on the opposite coasts, and the French threats and calumnies in

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the official Moniteur, preceded and accompanied him. It had been the impudent, but constant policy of revolutionary France, to send military men as its political agents, or privileged emissaries; particularly to those nations it intended to embroil or to conquer. Bernadotte was sent as a minister to Austria in 1798, at the same time that General Brune represented the French Republic in Switzerland. When the first conspired at Vienna, the other, whose plans were ripe for execution, suddenly changed his title of ambassador for that of general, and assumed the command over an army invading and ruining a country, which his plots had divided and distracted, and his intrigues duped or blinded. At the very period Andreossy arrived in England, another French general, Citizen Ney, was both French ambassador and French commander in wretched Helvetia, and in all the political circles at Paris, and even in the newspapers it was reported, that should fresh hostilities break out between Great Britain and France, Andreossy was destined to head the army against England, or at least to be the chief of its staff. This last rank, we all know that he at this moment fills.

If Andreossy conducted himself here with a moderation which was unexpected in a Frenchman,

man, and surprizing in a French republican; if his avowed public transactions obtained the esteem of the government, and the approbation of the nation, it is certainly more to be ascribed to the personal character of the ambassador, than to that of a revolutionary public functionary, and he deserves therefore, praise as a man, and no blame as a politician. As to his *secret* intrigues, they are little known, and would be less so, had not the Author been favoured by a friend at Paris, with a copy of Talleyrand's official instructions, sanctioned by the approbation of the First Consul, and which Andreossy brought with him to this country; and as an historical monument of French intentions, treachery, and perfidy, cannot be too often read, and too well remembered.

INSTRUCTIONS OF C. M. TALLEYRAND TO GENERAL ANDREOSSY.

At your first interview with the British Minister, you have to declare, in the name of the First Consul, his great esteem for them all; but particularly for Mr. A——, and Lord H——; and that it is the sincere wish of France, to continue in peace with England. You hope they will not listen to the clamours and complaints of the personal enemies of the First Consul, and the impla-

implacable and hereditary enemies of France: you may insinuate, that their own honour and interest, and the welfare of England, are nearly connected with such conduct; because the Pitts, the Windhams, the Grenvilles, the Bourbons, and their friends the Chouans, and the emigrants, are as much their enemies, and the enemies of the peace, as the enemies of the present French government; and little care if war ruin England, so that it only displaces the present ministers, and gives some trouble to the First Consul. On all occasions, hold this same language, and try to penetrate into the impression it makes upon Mr. A——, and Lord H——, individually; if they believe its truth, or doubt its sincerity; and if ambition and interest blind, or patriotism guide their judgments, actions, and answers.

At your first audience of his B—— M——, present him with the high respect and admiration of the First Consul for all his royal and personal virtues; to which alone, and to his present able and wise ministers, France and Europe ascribe the general peace with which the world is blessed, and which is the intention of the First Consul inviolably to preserve. At every audience, until otherwise instructed, you are to touch with as much delicacy as possible on the merits of his present

present ministers, and his own great judgment in choosing such just, meritorious, and patriotic counsellors.

To His Royal Highness the P——of W——, you have to insinuate that the First Consul has always admired his generous and noble mind, and that it has been a source of the greatest regret to him, during the late contest, not to be able sooner to express his respectful admiration, and to gain the good opinion of such a great prince. Pay particular attention to the Prince's answers and conversation; and if he throws out any hints, that he knows what the First Consul had said about him in a conversation with some of his friends who visited France last summer; but by your conduct, you are to appear perfectly ignorant on this subject. Try to find out who are the Prince's principal friends and favourites; if those persons, whose names you already know, continue to advise and govern him, or if they have been succeeded by others, and who they are. If you can insinuate yourself into the confidence of any one who you are certain possesses the entire confidence of the Prince, you may let him understand, as from yourself, that you regret to see his (the Prince's) retired situation; and that although you had no permission so to do, yet you would take

upon

upon yourself, from the known sentiments of the First Consul, if approved by the Prince, to ask any sum of money His Royal Highness should fix upon, as a loan, to be repaid when the Prince succeeds to the throne. This transaction is of the most delicate and secret nature, and must be kept entirely from the knowledge of the King, his family, and the ministers; and you cannot be too careful not to commit *(compromettre)* yourself or your character. Should the Prince accept of the offer, and you of course receive private audiences, impress strongly upon the Prince's mind the necessity for secrecy. When the question is about the sum he should want, you should observe, that, to avoid exciting suspicion, which may be followed by discovery, and be hurtful to the Prince in the public opinion, you think a certain annual sum (any sum under one million) would be the best and most convenient arrangement. When this point is settled, and that you have received the first remittance for the Prince, and, of course, are offered his bond, you are to refuse it, saying, the First Consul trusts entirely to the honour of the Prince, but you have at the same time to declare, that it would give the First Consul the highest satisfaction, if, in a letter from the Prince's hand, he was assured that His Royal Highness would,

would, by degrees, cease all future acquaintance and connexion with the Bourbons; and, at the Prince's accession to the throne, not permit them, or the other emigrants, to reside any longer in his dominions. Be attentive to what the Prince says, and if he is sincere in what he says: after your report, you shall receive further instructions how to act. If the Prince or his friends decline your offer, endeavour to find out the reason; and if he has not a previous engagement with the Bourbons, and if he entertains any hatred or prejudice against the First Consul. In her present disgrace, avoid great attention to, or notice of, the P——ss of W——, because it might hurt her, and offend the P——; as you know that next summer a French lady, who knew the Princess at Brunswick, intends to renew her acquaintance, and to inspire her with a good opinion of the First Consul, and then you shall receive directions how to assist her. Inform yourself, however, if her daughter, the young Princess, shews any genius and abilities; in what manner she is educated; if her governess, and the persons educating and attending her have talents: to what party they belong, and if they are known to like or to hate France. If, by some discreet attentions, you can gain their good opinion, do not neglect it. If

they

they are to be gained over to our interest only by money, make your report, and you shall receive orders how to conduct yourself.

With respect to the other branches of the Royal Family, you have to follow the examples, customs, and etiquette of other ambassadors; but when you speak with the D—— of Y——, remember to throw out delicate compliments on his military abilities, from which France has suffered so much; and to the D—— of C—— express the obligations of France to him for not employing his great naval talents during the late war.

Endeavour to be as popular as possible; never refuse an invitation from the chief of the city, or of the wealthy citizens; imitate as much as possible their manners of society, and their custom of conversation; as at their feasts and assemblies, where you are invited, some members of the government will probably be present. As a Frenchman, you may, without giving offence, mix water with your wine, whilst they drink theirs undiluted; and thus often, perhaps, you may discover their secrets without exposing ours.

It is not necessary to remind you to be polite and condescending at the balls and routs of the English nobility, but not so as to forget your rank, and

and that of the nation which you represent. Your own judgment will tell you when it will be necessary to be prouder than the proudest, and to resent with indignation or contempt, offences or neglect. Never forget or forgive the presence of a Bourbon, of any noble emigrant, or one decorated with the proscribed orders. Should you meet with Pitt, Windham, Grenville, or any other known enemies of the First Consul, be civil, but formal and distant; and at any future invitation to the same place, refuse your presence: on the contrary, to those of Mr. Fox's party, who have opposed the late war, and whose liberal opinions and attachment to the cause of the Revolution are known, you cannot be affable enough; and endeavour, by distinctions, invitations, and amiableness, to prove to them that the First Consul knows, remembers, and is grateful for their past conduct and behaviour.

As in most societies you will probably meet with military men of the army and navy, if they do not shun yours, court their acquaintance and conversation, and report your opinion of their principles, talents, and abilities; lay it down as an invariable rule to address yourself *to the passions* and *not to the reason* of those men, particularly if they are over-heated by drinking; and you may depend

depend upon it you will pick up some, to us unknown and useful, truths and discoveries. If they are dissatisfied or disaffected, endeavour to find out if ambition, avarice, or patriotism, is the cause of their disaffection or complaint; and should they be men of parts, rank, and distinction, give with *nonchalance* as a consolation, an indirect condemnation of their government, by hinting that under monarchical governments those things happen, and men are neglected, who in republics would probably be at the head of the state; and instead of suffering from princes, would command emperors and kings. Your own discretion will tell you when such complaints are to be heard; such conversations to be suffered, and when such hints are to be thrown out; but at all times, observe that you speak not in your official capacity, but as an individual, and a military man, who feels for the honour and interest of all military men. Should any such conversation, with firm and distinguished characters, be followed with any overtures or intrigues, make your report, and expect orders, before you engage yourself any further.

With the chief of the demagogues or democrats associate seldom in public, but in private keep up the spirit of discontentment, of faction,

and of hope; with inferior members of parties decline all both public and private society and connexion; leave it to your inferior agents. As to pensions to individuals, or money to factious societies, make always your report before you give your promise, and gain time to inquire into the characters of the persons, and what probable service may be derived from their societies: I. X. is, however, the fittest person to transact those things; leave them, therefore, to him, lest you should expose or commit yourself; and avoid, as much as possible, all such intriguers or intrigues, except when some decisive blow is to be struck.

Should you, by chance, meet in company with known republicans and reformers, take care to hint, that they are not to judge of the future conduct of the First Consul in favour of liberty, from that which necessity forces him to adopt at present; that you are confident, should Providence preserve his life, and Europe once enjoy the tranquillity it has lost by the many late revolutionary convulsions, he will restore to Frenchmen, a greater portion of liberty than the Romans enjoyed in the time of the Gracchi; and that posterity shall not have to reproach him with permitting any other government to exist in Europe, but that of an universal republic.

In

In the company of aristocrats you are to hold a different language: speak of the dangers of innovation, the horrors of revolutions, and the necessity of ceasing to be any longer the dupes of speculative philosophers and revolutionary sceptics; that the privileged orders are as necessary and indispensable in the present civilized state of mankind, as equality is absurd, dangerous, and impossible: and that such are the real sentiments of the First Consul, his whole conduct since in power has proved.

England is the only country in the world where a diplomatic character of talents and judgment has so many and repeated opportunities to injure, to intrigue, and to embroil, and at the same time to complain of wrongs and insults, and even when he is himself the offender, to speak as the offended; a paragraph in a newspaper, a word in a debate, or a toast at a club, which he may have paid for or provoked, will furnish him easily with complaints every week, if not every day.

As the English ministers will probably shew some jealousy of our aggrandizements, and our endeavours to exclude England from its former connexions with the Continent—should they make you any representations, on this or other subjects, meet them with complaints of the non-

execution of the Treaty of Amiens; of their tyranny in the East Indies; of the libels in the newspapers; of the injuries and calumnies of their writers against the First Consul; and of the protection afforded to the Bourbons, and other French rebels. Should, however, some unforeseen demand be made, or explanation insisted on, gain time—by referring to the decision of the First Consul, and await his orders.

If any complaints are made about the seizure of British ships, or confiscation of British property in France; say always, that France is the proper place to arrange those matters; as England is for the arrangement of the claims of French Citizens there.

Never give a direct answer to any proposals made, or to any sudden complaints or offers. The want of instructions, and the necessity to consult your government, are always acceptable and accepted excuses for delays, in political transactions; make use of them, even if your mind is made up on the subject in question, for fear of committing yourself or blundering. Few political transactions are of a nature not admitting delays, and no delays can in the present state of Europe ever hurt any political transactions; but a negociator or minister, let his presence of mind be ever so great,

great, and his abilities ever so tried; by giving a decisive, and not a temporizing answer, may by one moment's forgetfulness, do his cause and his country more harm, than services of years could repair.

Endeavour, if possible, to get an account of the real state of the East India Company's finances; and an exact list of all the Native and European forces in English pay in the East Indies; of what force they are, of what religion and language, and to what divisions they belong. Until our colonies there, are in our power, and the forces intended to be sent there have arrived, avoid all discussions concerning the usurpations of England, the complaints of the native Princes, or any thing that can give reason to suspect our future plans.—*On this subject*, until further orders, *observe the silence of the Treaty of Amiens.*

Spare no pains to obtain every information possible, of the weak or vulnerable parts in India; where the greatest discontent reigns; where the English are most hated, and the French most liked.

Amuse the ministers with the details of our misfortunes in the western atmosphere, so as to divert their attention from what we intend to do in the East. Be unceasing in your endeavours to

persuade them that, without their assistance in ships and money, we are unable to conquer the negroes at St. Domingo; observe that it is the common cause of France and England to prevent a republic, or rather an anarchy of negroes in the West Indies; which, sooner or later, must extend to Jamaica, and the other British colonies, and cause their ruin or separation from the mother-country. Should these arguments fail to determine England to afford us any assistance, and that you think the offer will be accepted, you may propose that England should keep St. Eustatia as a security, until what it may at present advance to France, shall be repaid; and should the advances of England exceed 120 millions, any other Dutch colony in the West Indies (Surinam excepted) may be added as further security. Be careful, however, not to make those offers, without a certain prospect of success, and after all other means have been tried in vain.

Inquire how the public spirit is in Canada; if the inhabitants are yet attached to France; and if assisted by arms, ammunition, and money, whether there would be any prospect in a future war, that they would rise and throw off the English yoke. Should any person of consequence and of sense from that country call upon you,

say

say that his countrymen who emigrate to Louisiana, shall there be received with the same protection and privileges as French citizens, and that it was one of the motives of the First Consul in getting back that settlement, to afford an asylum there to his oppressed and injured countrymen at Canada.

With the Spanish, Prussian, and Dutch Ministers, you are to live upon the most friendly and intimate terms; do not, however, lose sight of their movements and transactions. Gain the friendship of the Russian ambassador, and endeavour to persuade him, that it was not the intrigues of France, but those of his enemies in Russia, that caused his disgrace by the late Emperor. Should you conceive that any seasonable present of value from the First Consul would be acceptable, mention it, and it shall be sent you, accompanied with a letter from the First Consul's hand. Make, however, no unbecoming or degrading advances.

With the present Austrian ambassador be rather distant, not however to offend, but enough to shew that he is under the personal displeasure of the First Consul. Watch his actions strictly, and report if he continues to see the Bourbons, and the emigrants; and if those speak well, or complain

plain of him, and with what other members of the Diplomatic Body he is most intimate; accept of his invitations; but be formal and regular, in returning invitation for invitation—visit for visit.

Find out in your conversation with the Portuguese ambassador, if he has abilities to see, and patriotism to feel, for the degraded bondage in which England keeps his country; if he has any partiality for England or antipathy to France—if he mentions the conduct of Lasnes with prudence, anger, or contempt; if he be liked or disliked by the English ministers, and if his reception at court is as gracious as that of the Imperial ambassadors: flatter him sometimes if you judge it proper—but watch him at all times.

With the ministers and diplomatic agents from the other powers and states, you are to follow the etiquette established in England; never forgetting or suffering to be forgotten, that you are the representative of the first nation upon earth.

Should any one of them be particularly distinguished for great talents, or for great defects; for hatred or partiality for England or France; a favourite with his own sovereign, or with the English ministers, report it. Be condescending to them individually, but keep a vigilant eye upon them all, and upon what they are about.

For

For the reasons explained to you, pay particular attention to every thing concerning the English finances, manufactures, and commerce. Of the financial agents under you, you may trust 15, 51, and 60; 29 is doubtful, but 18 is a traitor to whom, when sufficient proofs of his delinquency are collected, you may give a mission either to France or Holland, and he shall be taken care of. The reports of 29 must always be compared with those of 15, 51, and 60, before believed or depended on, as he is very interested, and has many underhand transactions not concerning France. Citizen Otto will leave you some notes regarding those and other agents, which you must often consult. His plan of influencing and depressing the public funds, you must study, and follow at all times: it is a master-piece. In the financial and commercial intrigues, as well as in those with the factions, you are always to remain the *mobile invisible*; you are to command, instruct, and protect, but your agents are only seen, to act and transact.

Procure a correct list of all the persons possessing great property, with remarks of what their properties consist; whether in landed estates, in the funds, or in goods; whether in the colonies of the East or West Indies; the amount of their

certain

certain revenue; if they are supposed to spend the whole, or only a part; if they increase it or decrease it. The list copied from the income tax and sent by M. Otto, is incorrect; but since this tax has ceased, English vanity will get the better of English cupidity, and a correct one may be easily procured, and is absolutely necessary for fixing loans and requisitions at our future invasion.

Buy up all plans, drawings, and maps of the English coasts, provinces, cities, fortifications, dock-yards, and wharfs; all writings and remarks on the soundings, tides, and winds of England, Scotland, and Ireland; the productions, populations, resources, poverty or riches, of all the countries where a landing may take place with advantage; the character of the people of those countries, their political opinions, their vices and prejudices.

Endeavour to find out if the officers of the English navy have a favourable opinion of the First Consul; if they speak the French language, and are of whig or republican principles; and send over the names of those distinguished for naval abilities, and political or senatorial talents.

Of those agents employed to watch the conduct of the Bourbons, you can trust 2, 5, and

52; read the reports of the others, and pay the reporters, but not depend upon them; of those about Pichegru and George 19, 44, and 66, may be believed; the others are too stupid to be either of service or harm, and may, without danger, be dismissed; those about the bishops, and other emigrants and chouans, 10, 12, 33, 42, and 55, may be continued; but let the others know, that their services are no longer wanted in England: give them passes to France, with promises of employment there, under the police.

Give seldom any grand feasts, but when you do give them, let them surpass others in splendour, taste, delicacy, and elegance: on some occasions, such as the birth-day of the First Consul, the anniversary of the Republic, or if approved by the Consul, in honour of the birth-day of the King of England; no money is to be spared to impress upon the minds of the English nation the greatness and generosity of the French. Do not forget to order your subaltern agents to have all the particulars of these feasts noted in all the newspapers: the lower classes in England devour the description of feasts in their public prints, with the same avidity as the higher classes eat of your dishes and drink of your wine.

Citizen Otto's list of authors and men of letters,

is

is to be attended to; but should you hear of, or discover any great talents in any other persons, court their acquaintance, offer a place in the National Institute, or a literary pension. To men of letters you are always to insinuate that pensions or places from the First Consul, are only rewards for past labours, and not any pretensions or expectations of future services; that he looks on men of letters as fellow-citizens of all countries, and that their talents belong to no country; neither to France nor to England, but to the Universe.

In your transactions with Irish patriots, or with any other persons, or in any things not mentioned here, you are to follow the instructions to Citizen Otto, of the 10th October, 1801; or, if you judge it necessary, ask for new ones.

C. M. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, October 20, 1802.

Andreossy was, no doubt, prevented from executing many of the dangerous plots and intrigues laid down by the First Consul and his worthy minister, as a rule for his conduct in this country; fortunately for England and Europe, by the short continuance of a peace which, without diminishing the danger or expences of war, kept this country in a perpetual alarm and uncertainty, whilst

whilst Buonaparte, with all the advantage of peace, augmented his power and influence, more than the victories of a successful war had enabled him.

At Andreossy's return to Paris from this country, Buonaparte desired him to copy and to sign an official memorial, charging our ministers with bad faith, and abusing our beloved Sovereign and our nation: when Andreossy declined to lend his name to such an infamous deed, he was ordered to quit Paris, and to reside at a distance of thirty leagues. This disgrace continued until Buonaparte's journey to Brabant, when meditating on and considering the talents of all his new made generals for his great expedition, he was convinced that he could not do without Andreossy, and therefore recalled him, to head the staff of one division in the army against England.

It is but justice to say, that Andreossy has not only always spoken with respect and sensibility, of his reception in this country, but tried, as far as was in his power, to alleviate the sufferings and distress of British prisoners in France; and if he is now in arms against England, it is rather in obedience to command as an officer, than from inclination as an individual.

From the information he gained from Talleyrand, and conversation with Buonaparte, Andreossy arrived here highly prejudiced, both against our government and our nation; but he had not resided here four weeks, before he was convinced of Talleyrand's envious and revengeful exaggerations, and Buonaparte's absurd and ridiculous conclusions; and if rivalry or revolutionary fanaticism prevented him from regarding with philanthropy and impartiality, the prosperity of a people, who had been the only barrier against successful rebellion; he could not, but in desiring the destruction of the greatness of England, esteem Englishmen, and admire their spirit and patriotism *.

* Dictionnaire Biographique, Les Recueils d'Anecdotes, and Les Nouvelles a la maine Thermidor an xi, No. 11. have furnished the Author with several interesting particulars in this sketch.

ADMIRAL

ADMIRAL BRUIX.

ADMIRAL BRUIX, the commander in chief of the French flotilla at Boulogne, and on the coast opposite England, was before the Revolution a lieutenant in the royal navy. Born a gentleman, but of poor parents, he received his education by the bounty of his King, in the Marine School at Brest. At an early age he entered the French navy, and served during the American war in the fleet under Count de Grasse; insinuating himself into the good graces of his commander, he was by him, *before the time fixed, by the marine laws in France,* promoted to the rank of an officer. After his benefactor's defeat by Admiral Rodney, on the 12th of April, 1782, he joined his accusers, rivals, and enemies, and had the barefaced impudence to present "*his own promotion* as an argument to prove that the Count either did not know, or did not care about the laws and regulations of his country, the instructions of ministers, and the orders of his sovereign."

Notwithstanding the ungenerous and illiberal sentiments of French intriguers, the adversaries of Count de Grasse blamed Bruix's conduct, shun-

ned his society, and declined all connexion with him. He was challenged by the young Count de Grasse *as a calumniator*, but, like a coward, he declined a contest where courage was required, and aspersion availed nothing. From that moment he was excluded the company of his comrades, and forbid the presence of his superiors; and a report having been made to the King of his contemptible proceeding and behaviour, the minister of the marine, Marquis de Sartine, sent him orders to quit Brest, and to retire amongst his relations upon full pay, which, on account of his and their poverty, was continued by royal favour and benevolence.

With all other disgraced, degraded, ambitious, or vile citizens, he was dragged forward by the Revolution from a well-deserved obscurity and neglect, and he embraced therefore its cause with ardour. He is one of the *very few* officers of the royal French navy who have dishonoured themselves by serving rebellion, or by fighting the battles of regicides.

In 1790, when the cabinets of St. James's and Madrid were debating the question about Nootka Sound, and England was arming to defend its rights, the *Spanish dollars operated upon the revolutionary consciences of Mirabeau, Talleyrand*, and other

other leaders of the Constituent Assembly—and with them convinced the majority of its members of the advantage, and of the necessity, to change the family compact into a national contract and alliance. A fleet was therefore ordered to be fitted out at Brest, to assist Spain in case of a rupture with England; and Count Albert De Riomes was, by the King, appointed its commander. This admiral, who had been brought up in strict principles of honour, who was accustomed to submission and respect towards his superiors, desired to enforce duty and obedience amongst his officers and inferiors, and discipline amongst his men. This did not agree with the projects, passions, and interest of the rebellious heroes of the day. The land forces were already disorganized by their emissaries, and by their management; and at Toulon, some few months before, Count Albert de Riomes had a narrow escape from the then fashionable *lantern* of the preachers of La Fayette's sacred right of insurrection; but at Brest the revolutionary propagators had not hitherto obtained the same success. Bruix was, therefore, sent there by the Marine Committee of the National Assembly, accompanied by some inferior agents: by libels on liberty and equality, by explanations and extensions of the rights of men, his patriotic la-

hours were not long unavailing. In six weeks time, the whole fleet was in confusion and anarchy; the officers were insulted, and threatened, with their admiral, as aristocrats; and Count Albert De Riomes resigned, in disgust, the supreme power over a fleet, where every man wished to command, and nobody would obey; and where the sailors, instead of assisting in the equipment and manœuvres of the ships, were debating and deliberating about the doctrines of a jacobin club, lately instituted by Citizen Bruix, and of which many of them had become members.

The emigration now became general amongst the officers of the royal navy, and those who remained gained rapid advancement. Bruix was, therefore, appointed captain of a frigate, and served as such during the winter 1792, in the *brilliant* expedition under Admiral Truguet, in the Mediterranean, where he *bravely* insulted the King of Naples, by the visit of a grenadier ambassador; and with the loss of two ships of the line, and three thousand troops, made a *glorious* attack on Cagliari, in Sardinia.

When France, in 1793, declared war against England, the National Convention ordered him to Brest; and he was slightly wounded in the bat-

tle

tle with Lord Howe on the 1st of June, 1794. He wrote on this occasion to the national representative, Jean Bon St. André, at present a consular prefect, formerly a protestant clergyman, but then, as a member of Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety, the director of the naval force at Brest; a shocking letter, dated Brest, the 24th Ptiarial, year 2, and preserved in a work called *Les Annales du Terrorisme*, and from which the following lines are extracted: "Citizen representative of the French people, our late want of success was entirely owing to the want of activity of our republican guillotine—let a guillotine be fixed in permanency *(en permanence)* on board every man of war, frigate, cutter, sloop, and, if possible, in every boat; let its axe never be rusty, let the continual cutting off the heads of cowards and traitors keep it polished with the blood of these enemies to equality; let the guillotine, the saint guillotine, and nothing but the saint guillotine, be your order of the day; let death follow suspicions and the suspected, as the shade the body; *accustom our sailors to wade in blood as much as in water*, and the empire of the ocean and of the world is ours." A man who professed such humane sentiments in 1794, is no doubt worthy to command, in 1803, against England, an expedition,

dition, where, according to his Corsican sovereign's own words, he has ninety-nine to one against him.

When he assumed his present command, Bruix issued a proclamation, which is a true appendix to the above quoted letter. The subject is different, but the style is the same: he speaks of his hero Buonaparte in 1803, as he spoke in 1794, of his then hero, the saint guillotine; both these heroes, the instrument of death, the saint guillotine, as well as the murderer and poisoner, the saint Buonaparte, are equally worthy the adoration and admiration of citizen Bruix.

"*Head-quarters, at Boulogne, July* 30, 1803.

"E. BRUIX, COUNSELLOR OF STATE, AND ADMIRAL TO THE NATIONAL FLOTILLA DESTINED TO CARRY WAR TO ENGLAND.

"The First Consul, when he signified to me your destination, honoured me with the title of your admiral. He sends me to you to conduct your exertions in the career of glory which his genius has prepared for you. What man, at this distinguished proof of the confidence of a hero, would not be raised above himself? who would doubt of his own powers? Brave seamen, the choice

choice of Buonaparte renders me worthy to march at your head! Your zeal and your bravery are pledges to me, that we shall fulfil his expectations. Already you have the cry of vengeance; our towns and districts bring in their voluntary gifts in multitudes. All Frenchmen are ready to march to punish a government which is an enemy to the peace of the world, and especially an enemy to the glory and welfare of our country. You are first called to this great enterprise. To you your country first commits the care of satisfying her just vengeance. Be certain that you will fulfil your noble destination. Recollect that the victory begins in your docks, and in your marine and military exercises. See those ships which insolently cruize along our shores; at sight of your labours they may return, and say to their government, 'A fearful day is preparing—the winds and sea, again favourable to the conqueror of Egypt, may in a few hours bring him to our coasts, and with him the innumerable companions of his glory!'

"To hasten this result, it is my first duty to establish a severe discipline in the national flotilla: subordination will regulate your efforts; that alone can add to the activity of your labours. Sailors! we are on the field of battle: to lose a moment

moment would be criminal cowardice. Redouble, therefore, your zeal, multiply your services, and the nation which oppresses the seas will be conquered by terror, before it experiences the fate of arms, and sinks beneath the blows of our heroes.

(Signed) "BRUIX."

After the death of Robespierre, Bruix shared, with other terrorists, the contempt and hatred of his countrymen, and therefore, by some years retreat, tried to bury criminality in forgetfulness. When, in the winter 1797, Buonaparte meditated his expedition against Egypt, he consulted Bruix, with all other officers of the former royal navy, who had not emigrated, and presented him to Barras, who soon after promoted him to be an Admiral. For a short time during 1798, he had the ministerial port-folio of the marine ministry, which he resigned for the command over the fleet at Brest. In 1799, he had the good luck, with his fleet, to escape the English cruizers, to make a junction with the Spanish fleet, and to return with it to Brest, there to retain it as a security for the submission of the court of Madrid, of whose policy and intentions about this period the French Directory seemed to have some doubts.

When

When Buonaparte effected the revolution of the 9th November, 1799, Bruix was at Paris, in the secrets of the usurper, and sent by him, with Talleyrand, to Barras, to procure his resignation as a director. He was soon afterwards created one of Buonaparte's counsellors for the marine section of the council of state, although continued in his command at Brest; he has ever since been intriguing to become a minister, but either Buonaparte does not confide in his capacity, or suspects his probity; and his present command proves that he is thought rather a desperate citizen than a brave and able admiral; that his life is judged of little value, and his talents of less; that Buonaparte desires rather to get rid of a troublesome courtier, or to force a disagreeable person, whom he sends to destruction, to augment by some unforeseen chance his artificial greatness, in which fortune has more claims than merit, to which talents have not much contributed, and virtue, honour and humanity are strangers.

Bruix is about forty-four years of age; of a weak constitution, but of an active mind; his manners are supple and insinuating, and he is now the humble valet of Buonaparte, as he was formerly of La Fayette, Brissot, Marat, Robespierre, and Barras. He is believed to possess more bravery

than

than capacity, more pretensions than information; he has neither the esteem nor the confidence of the officers and men under his command, and is commonly called "The Citizen of the saint guillotine, the Officer of Clubs, and the Admiral of Anti-chambers."

THE

THE BUONAPARTE FAMILY.

THE families of legitimate sovereigns are known, their ancestors are esteemed, extolled, censured; or calumniated, according to their merits, talents, and vices; or as envy is excited, or hatred provoked. Of the lineage of usurpers, generally, little account is given, and that little doubtful; because, while their adherents flatter them, their opposers revile them, and while some assert that they descend from an ancestry as illustrious as eminent, others pretend to prove their forefathers to have been as vile as criminal.

According to some, Carlo Buonaparte, the father of him who has usurped the throne of France, and dragged his race and relatives from obscurity, was a gentleman descended from a Tuscan family, but settled 200 years in Corsica, although they are forced to acknowledge that, during the civil troubles, he had served as a common soldier under General Paoli, and that it was the beauty of his wife, and her connexion with

Mr. De Marbœuf, commander for the King of France in Corsica, which made him leave the field for the forum, *by procuring him* a place as the King's attorney.

Carlo Buonaparte was a man of so little ability, that it demanded all Mr. De Marbœuf's partiality for Madame Buonaparte, to keep him in a situation, where he could not transact even the little that was necessarily required of him. He was dull, mischievous, but not jealous; his wife brought him eight children, whom the *ami de la maison*, Mr. De Marbœuf, assisted to bring up, and to provide for; and *if they owed* their existence to a Corsican, their education was paid for by a Frenchman. Possessing no more industry than capacity, he lived and died poor, and bequeathed his offspring and their mother, to the kind care of her kind protector and supporter *.

So far, and no farther, go the ingenious admirers or adulators of the First Consul; but who were his grandfather and great-grandfather, they pass over in silence. On the other hand, the enemies more to usurpation than of the usurper, enter into several and distinct particu-

* Recueil d'Anecdotes, Le Grand Homme, and Dictionnaire Biographique.

lars;

lars; which, although published in France, have never been contradicted, or proved not to be genuine, except by sending the *supposed* Author to the Temple, and afterwards *without a trial* to Cayenne: there was printed in 1800 a pamphlet, which they called "*The Genealogy of Brutus, Aly, Napoleone Buonaparte, the Corsican, Successor to the French Bourbons*;" of which the following is an extract:

"After the disgrace of Theodore King of Corsica, the Republic of Genoa published an *official* paper, to make him and his adherents more ridiculous and despised, entitled, 'A List of all Persons ennobled by the Adventurer calling himself King Theodore of Corsica.' This list was printed by the widow Rossi, at Genoa, in 1744; and contains, pages 6 and 7, some curious remarks upon, and concerning the usurper's family, more to be depended on, than those which fear, interest, meanness, and adulation have fabricated, since he seated himself upon the throne of the Bourbons.

"When, on May 3d, 1736, Porto-Vecchio was attacked, a butcher from Ajaccio, called Josepho Buona, brought a seasonable assistance with a band of vagabonds and robbers; who, during

the civil troubles, had chosen him for their leader; in return, King Theodore on the next day, or 4th of May, 1736, created him a nobleman, and permitted him, as a memorandum of his services, to add to his name of Buona, the final termination, parte. His wife's name was Histria, daughter of a journeyman tanner at Bastia. Carlo Buona, the father of Josepho Buona, kept a wine-house for sailors; but being accused and convicted of murder and robbery, he died a galley-slave at Genoa, 1724; his wife, as an accomplice, and who, on account of her extremely vicious character, was called La Birba, died at Genoa in 1730, in the house of correction. These were the grand and great-grand parents of his Consular Majesty; who his father was, is well known, and that he served and betrayed by turns his country, during the civil wars.

"After France had conquered Corsica, he was a spy to the French governors, and his wife their mistress. From *this pure and virtuous source descends* Brutus, Aly, Napoleone Buonaparte, the successor of the Bourbons, born in a country whose inhabitants were, in the time of the Romans, held in such detestation, for their infamous and treacherous disposition, that they would not have

have them even for slaves; and of whom Seneca, who resided long amongst them, has said, as if he had imbibed the prophetic spirit,

Prima lex, illis ulcisci; altera, vivere rapto;
Tertia, mentire; quarta, negare Deos.
SENECA DE CORSICIS.

LETITIA RANIOLINI,

MATER GRACCHORUM.

LETITIA RANIOLINI, the mother of the Buonapartes, is by some said to be the daughter of an attorney, by others, of a blacksmith. At the age of fifteen, she made a *faux-pas* with a friar, and at sixteen married the soldier, Carlo Buonaparte. Her education had been so totally neglected, that when she was picked up by Mr. De Marbœuf, she could neither read nor write, and her own brother, a poor curate, was engaged and paid by him, for instructing her; while he himself taught her to perform the honours of his house. Possessing a natural, though uncultivated genius, she soon repaid, by her improvement and attentions, the expences and anxiety of her friend. In her younger years she was pretty, rather than handsome; her conversa-

tion was trivial, but pleasing and agreeable, by her manner of expressing herself. She was accused of blending the Italian cunning with the Corsican duplicity, prudery with wantonness; and, to cover all fashionable vices with religious hypocrisy, she went regularly to church, and religion always appeared to occupy a mind, vacant, if not wicked. She confessed once in the week, got her absolution, sinned, and confessed again. She wore, and she yet wears upon her person, *the relics of some saint*; she was, and is yet, strict in her external devotion, fast-days, and inflictions on herself, of severe penances and mortifications.

After the death of her benefactor, and by the Revolution, which deprived her of a pension settled on her by him, she was reduced to the greatest indigence. Her eldest daughter having married Bacchiochi, a cotton manufacturer at Basle, she received from him an annuity of six hundred livres (25l. sterl.); upon which, and some millinery work of her other daughters, she subsisted until Napoleone obtained from the hands of Barras, the widow of the guillotined General Beauharnois.

Before Napoleone went to Egypt, in 1798, he deposited a capital, of which the interest, twelve thousand livres, or (500l. sterl.), was left at her disposal,

disposal, to provide for herself, her youngest son, and two daughters yet unmarried.

During the absence of Napoleone, she was regarded with such an air of caution, suspicion, and superiority by his wife, that notwithstanding all her christianity, she can hardly forget or forgive it. She was despised as a person without birth and education, and shunned or insulted because she was believed to watch the conduct of her daughter-in-law, which could not always stand the scrutiny. When Napoleone had usurped the supreme power, she obtained apartments in the castle of the Thuilleries; but though she lives under the same roof with Madame Napoleone, she neither likes her, nor has she spared any pains to set her son against his wife. With the charitable disposition of a Corsican bigot, she has more than once intrigued to persuade the Consul to a separation, if not to a divorce; but his policy and fear have gotten the better both of his own desire and the intrigues and hatred of his mother.

Since her daughter's marriage with Louis Buonaparte, Madame Napoleone has gained much influence over her husband, and in proportion lessened that of his mother, whom the Archbishop of Paris and her own confessor, both in the interest of Madame Napoleone, have advised to seek

seek a reconciliation, and forget what has passed, or supposed to have passed, injurious or offensive to her; and their advice has so far been followed, that these two ladies live in peace, though not in friendship or familiarity.

When the religious concordat had been agreed to and ratified in France, the Pope's nuncio, the Cardinal Legate Caprara presented her from his Holiness, with some very precious relics; amongst others, a finger of St. Xavier, having the quality to keep off evil and haunting spirits, because, though her consular son neither believes in a God, nor in his angels and saints, she dreads ghosts, goblins, and the devil; and such is her superstitious and ridiculous terror, that she never dares to remain alone in a room, or after dark to go out without somebody to accompany her. She passes several hours every day in consulting *sois disant* witches, in whom she places great confidence, and in having her fortune told by cards or in coffee cups.

It is reported in the Corsican family, that when Madame Buonaparte was pregnant with Napoleone, "an Algerine woman, slave to a Sardinian lady, travelling in Corsica, *predicted* that the child in her womb should live to create kings and dictate to emperors; but that he should perish

rish at an early age by the hands of a young woman, with a large lip, small nose, fair hair, and black eyes." She has such an implicit faith in this prediction, that two of her relations whom she sent for from Corsica, were ordered back to that island, under the idea that they bore some resemblance to such a person. It is even said that Napoleone himself is not entirely free from scruples, and therefore approves his mother's failings, and weak and laughable precautions. A priest lately made his fortune by staggering her belief, in this prophecy, and assuring her, *as a christian astrologer*, that, according to the Apocalypse, "She is to live to the age of ninety; after her death be proclaimed a saint, and that her son Napoleone is to be present at her canonization." As she is only sixty-two years old, and this priest is respected as a very virtuous and devout man, this has weakened or taken away a part of her apprehension of Napoleone dying young. Many of her intimates think that this priest was engaged by somebody in the Buonaparte family to diminish her own and her son's alarms.

Madame Buonaparte's apartments, besides relics, are crowded with phials, with drops to prolong life, and to restore youth and vigour; with boxes, containing sympathetic powders for the continu-

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ance of her son's success in the world, and his affection for her, and with counter-poisons to preserve his life from the attempts of his enemies.

At certain periods of the year she does not suffer any body besides herself to prepare and dress the Consul's victuals, and when he is not travelling, she tastes every plate containing nourishment destined for him, because a necromancer has calculated, that during some months of every year Napoleone is exposed to die by poison; but that at all times her care and inspection over his food is useful, and a preservative of his existence, health, and safety.

Madame Buonaparte has rather been a weak than a good mother to her children, oftener overlooking their faults than correcting their errors, or reprobating their offences. She has taught them to pray to God, but not to let their conduct bespeak their reverence of religion, and their faith in a Divinity. All her sons are of vicious and immoral principles, and all her daughters have been early relaxed, corrupted and licentious. Lucien and Madame Le Clerc were her favourite children from their youth; but Napoleone was his own and her master even when a boy; and she rather dreads than loves him, rather fears any accident happening to him on account of its conse-

quence

quence to the whole family, than with regard to him as her son, and it is for the life of the First Consul, and not for the life of Napoleone Buonaparte, that she is so very anxious, that she ransacks scriptures, consults conjurors, believes in witchcraft, prays to God, and excommunicates the devil.

Her political influence is not great, and she has sense enough not to meddle much with politics or state affairs. Of the revolutionary bishops, eight, however, owe their sees to her recommendation, and three of the cardinals their ranks and dignities, and she had *carte blanche* from her son for the nomination of all the curates at Paris and in Corsica.

In the spring of 1802, after the publication of the concordat with the Pope, by the advice of some pious counsellors, she demanded and desired to be founder of some convents for nuns; but Napoleone cut the business short, by telling her, that if in the Bible she could shew him a passage where nuns are mentioned, he would permit her to erect convents, not only in France, but all over Italy, Switzerland and Holland.

According to the *Livre Rouge*, by Bourrienne, Madame Buonaparte has received two millions of livres as an establishment; presents to the amount

of

of 600,000 livres, and she has an annuity of one million two hundred thousand livres, which, as she resides mostly with the First Consul, she distributes amongst her other children.

In her dress, Madame Buonaparte is plain, in manners unassuming, but in her looks is perceived a continual agitation and uneasiness, either about her own future welfare, or the present existence of the First Consul. At the Thuilleries, as well as at St. Cloud, she has a private chapel joining her bed-room, and a private chaplain, occupying an apartment next to the chapel. This priest is an old Corsican, who has been her confessor for nearly forty years, and she is said to pass even whole nights with this holy man in her chapel, in prayers and meditations*.

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* Many of the particulars mentioned in this sketch, are found in a pamphlet, called La Sainte Famille, printed last year at Paris, and in the different numbers of Les Nouvelles a la Maine.

JOSEPH BUONAPARTE.

JOSEPH BUONAPARTE, the elder brother of the First Consul, was, before the Revolution, a clerk to an attorney at Ajaccio, in Corsica. Having less vanity and less talents than many of the other members of his family, he passed his time in obscurity and penury, and continued quietly and undisturbed to reside in his country during its occupation by England.

When the crimes of his brother, Napoleone, had thrown the mistress of Barras into his arms, with the command over the army in Italy, the intrigues of the Directory caused Joseph to be chosen, for the department of Liamone, a member in the Council of Five Hundred. In this place he seldom ascended the tribune, or made himself remarked for any thing, but his silent vote always in favour of the directorial faction and its plots to oppress and enslave Frenchmen. In the Spring of 1797, he was suspected to be Barras' spy upon the conduct of the loyal members of the Legislative Body, who shunned, despised and insulted him. He was relieved from this disagreeable situation by his brother's demand, and his

promotion by the Directory, in August the same year, to be ambassador at Rome.

Pius VI. the virtuous Sovereign over the Papal territory, had some few months before, by numerous territorial and pecuniary sacrifices, bought and concluded a peace with Napoleone Buonaparte, for the French Republic and its governments *. Of the contracting parties, the Pope, the

* On the occasion of this peace, which the interest of France demanded, and the humanity of the Pope consented to sign, the two following letters passed between the chief of the Catholic religion, and a General of no religion.

TO GENERAL BUONAPARTE.

POPE PIUS VI.

Dear Son, health and apostolic benediction.

Desiring to terminate amicably our differences with the French Republic, by the retreat of the troops which you command, we send and depute to you as our plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the Cardinal Mathei, who is perfectly known to you, and Mr. Galeppi; and two seculars, the Duke Don Louis Braschi, our nephew, and the Marquis Camillo Massinio, who are invested with our full powers, to concert, promise and subscribe, such conditions, as we hope will be just and reasonable, obliging ourselves, under our faith and word, to approve and ratify them in special form, in order that they may be valid and inviolable in all future time. *Assured of the sentiments of good will, which you have manifested, we have abstained from removing any thing from Rome, by which you will be persuaded of the entire confidence which we repose in you.* We conclude by assuring you of our most perfect esteem, and presenting you with the paternal apostolic benediction.

PIUS. P. P. VI.

Given at St. Peter's, in Rome, the 12th February, 1797, the 22d year of our pontificate.

BUONA-

the only sufferer, and who had any real complaints to make, was the only sincere one. The directorial rulers and their general, were at this period tormented by the fury of an universal republic, and their favourite plan and ambition was,

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BUONAPARTE, GENERAL IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF ITALY, TO HIS HOLINESS THE POPE.

Head-quaters at Tolentino, 1 Ventose, 5th Year.

MOST-HOLY FATHER,

I ought to thank your Holiness for the obliging things contained in the letter which you have taken the trouble to write to me.

The peace between the French Republic and your Holiness is just signed; I felicitate myself in being able to contribute to your personal safety.

I entreat your Holiness to guard against the persons now at Rome, who are sold to the courts, the enemies of peace, or who suffer themselves to be guided exclusively by the passion of hatred, which the loss of territory naturally engenders.

Europe knows the pacific inclination, and the virtue of your Holiness. The French Republic will be one of the truest friends of Rome.

I send my aid-de-camp, chief of brigade, to express to your Holiness the perfect veneration which I have for your person, and to entreat you to confide in the desire which I have to give you, on every occasion, the respect and veneration with which I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient servant,

BUONAPARTE.

Within ten months from the date of this letter the Pope was in fetters, and his *truest* friend, the French Republic, occupied and plundered Rome, and established an atheistical republic upon the ruins of the Christian religion.

to revive the ancient Roman commonwealth. No sooner, therefore, was the peace at Tolentino signed, than a swarm of jacobin emissaries were sent to Rome, to conspire and spread disaffection and atheism amongst the subjects of the Holy See. Determined to carry their point by their old means of exciting insurrections, the Directory had chosen Joseph Buonapate to protect by his diplomatic character, and as a privileged person, the rebellious and revolutionary insurgents and traitors, instigated and instructed by republican France. From the moment of his arrival, plots, insurrections, and incendiary placards, were daily produced; under his influence, all persons confined for treason and sedition, or, as he *gently* termed it, for political opinions, were liberated from prison; his palace became their constant rendezvous, and he appeared as the patron of a fête, at which all the vagabond and desperadoes in Rome were collected, called *The Feast of Liberty!* These men, headed by French jacobins, formed a plan for revolutionizing Rome. They began their career by erecting poles, as trees of liberty, surmounted with red caps, and dancing round them at midnight, and by forming false patroles to elude the police, and throw the city into confusion; and fixed on Innocents-day for the

the completion of their project. In the afternoon of that day, or on December 28th, 1797, a large party assembled in the street called the Lungara, opposite the Ambassador's residence, where a Frenchman attended, delivering to them national cockades, and six Paul-pieces, (35 shillings); to be expended in liquor. Their conversation, directed by prepared incendiaries, turned on the common topics of popular complaint, the distresses of the poor, and dearness of provisions: a revolutionary abbé made a long harangue, interlarded and enforced by perverted texts from Holy Writ, to prove that the time was arrived for the overthrow of their existing government. Animated by these discourses, and secure of protection from the French Ambassador, Joseph Buonaparte, the mob sallied forth, seized the guard-house, and attacked the Ponte Sesta. At this place, however, they were repulsed by the military, and pursued to the Ambassador's hotel, the Corsini palace, whither they retired for shelter. Joseph Buonaparte and his associates, hastening from their apartments, rushed in the midst of the mob with drawn swords: a great tumult and some firing ensued, in which a dozen persons lost their lives, among whom was General Duphot, affianced to Joseph's sister.

Immediately on this event, Joseph Buonaparte retired to his palace, and, on the ensuing morning, at six o'clock, quitted Rome, obstinately deaf to all propositions of explanation or apology. He forwarded from Florence an exaggerated account of this transaction to France, which furnished the Directory with the pretext they had so long and ardently desired. In vain did the Papal Government offer every kind of acknowledgment and atonement; in vain did they tender implicit and unconditional submission: orders were immediately issued for General Berthier to revolutionize Rome, and give up the country to pillage.

This faithful detail, copied from a loyal and able contemporary writer, unlooses the Gordian knot of French republican diplomatic chicanery, and the revolutionary Machiavelism of its Ambassador, and almost proves what an Italian author printed at Verona, in 1799, that General Buonaparte destined his brother Joseph, and his brother-in-law Duphot, for the two first consuls of the (by France) renewed Roman Republic; but which, the well-merited death of Duphot, and the different views, and perhaps jealousy of the Directory, prevented from taking place.

Of the conduct of Joseph Buonaparte on this occasion, opinions are not much divided; even French-

Frenchmen agree, that he must want as well honour, religion, delicacy, and probity, as talents and sense, in suffering himself to become the despicable tool of ambition, or of the ambitious; and it is not a little degrading to the present Chief of the Roman Catholic religion, that he has signed, in 1802, the concordat for establishing religion in France, with this same man, who, by his intrigues in 1797, signed the death-warrant of religion in Italy, and of his own religious predecessor.

During Napoleone's absence in Egypt, Joseph was again elected a member of the Council of Five Hundred, but the cabals of the factious at this period, the danger of notoriety, the defeat of his brother before St. Jean d'Acre, and his critical situation in Egypt, made him resign his place as a deputy, which he could no longer enjoy either with profit or safety.

At his brother's unexpected return to France, after his desertion from the army of the East, Joseph left his retreat, and, with Napoleone and Talleyrand, plotted the revolution which was effected at St. Cloud, and seated a Buonaparte upon the throne of the Bourbons. He was soon after appointed a counsellor of state in the section of the home department, or interior.

Frenchmen were now as insensible to losses as indif-

indifferent about advantages; disgusted with the war, they disregarded victories, and their only wish, their only cry, was peace. Napoleone was the favourite of the people, not so much for his conquests, as for his policy of always talking of peace, and of his endeavours to obtain it. He knew, therefore, that any person of his family negotiating, and signing the termination of hostilities, would endear them to the giddy French nation; and, by procuring a general pacification, produce a temporary tranquillity, lessen the injustice, and palliate the tyranny of his usurpation, and give him time to organize his consular government. Joseph Buonaparte was therefore sent to negotiate with Austria at Luneville, in the winter of 1800, where he signed the Definitive Treaty on the 9th of February, 1801. On the 10th of September following he concluded, at Paris, a Convention with the Pope; and at Amiens, on the 27th of March, 1802, he terminated the war with England.

When a person is backed by 500,000 bayonets, assisted by well-drawn instructions, and accompanied by able secretaries, it is neither difficult to negotiate, nor to dictate treaties, conventions, or concordats. The arguments of bayonets always carry conviction with them, shorten conferences,

force

force, sacrifices, bring about conclusions, and bid defiance to the acknowledged laws of nations, balance of power, political justice, the prerogatives of sovereigns, and the rights and liberties of the people. Austria was weakened and humiliated by the Treaty of Luneville; by the Convention at Paris the Pope was insulted, and religion degraded; and, at the same time, the politics, morals and religions of the Continental Nations, were reduced to the same level, and to depend entirely upon the caprice, passions or ambition of the revolutionary and military despot in France. Fortunately for the civilized world, that this was not exactly the case with the Treaty of Amiens, its short duration proves; and England, therefore, may yet claim the respect of contemporaries, the gratitude and admiration of posterity, as the protector of the weak, the barrier to ambition, the check to selfishness; the example of virtuous moderation, and the guardian angel of the liberty and independence of mankind.

In the summer of 1802, Joseph Buonaparte was nominated a senator, and a grand officer of the Legion of Honour; and he has lately received the *Senatorie* of Brabant, or, which is the same, is made Napoleone's governor-general over Belgia, and his future residence is fixed at Brussels. He has

has often, particularly since the war broke out, been in missions in different departments; and, as his brother's pro-consul, presided at the Electorial Colleges, where, according to the consular constitution, candidates for the Senate, Legislative Body, and the Tribunate, are elected.

That Joseph possessed formerly the esteem and friendship of Napoleone, the annexed letter shews*. It was sent to him at a time when the General

* Copy of a letter from Buonaparte to his brother Joseph, taken by Lord Nelson in the Mediterranean, without signature, but sealed with wax, the impression a female figure standing with the cap of Liberty, and the faste,

BONAPARTE, GENERAL EN CHEF. REPUBLIC FRANCAISE.

Le Caire le 7 Thermidor. (25 *Juillet*, 1798.)

Tu varra dans les papier publie la relation des bataille e de la conquête de l'Egypte qui a eté assé dispute pour ajouter une feuille a la gloire militaire de cette armée. L'Egypte est le pays le plus riche en blé, ris legumes, viandes qui existe sur la terre la barbarie est a son compte. Il n'y a point d'argent pas meme pour solder la troupe. Je pense etre en France dans 2 mois je te recommande mes interets.—J'ai beaup beaup de chagrin domestique, car la voile est entierement levée. Toi seul me reste sur la terre ton amité m'est bien chere. Il ne me reste plus pour devinir misantrope qu'a te perdre et te voir me trair.—C'est ma triste position que d'avoir a la fois tons les sentimens pour une meme personne dans son coeur—tu m'entend!

Fais ensorte que jaye une campagne a mon arrivee soit pres de Paris on en burgogne je compte y passer l'hiver et m'y enterrer je suis

General dreaded the consequences of his absurd and ambitious schemes, and therefore wished for retirement rather than publicity, to bury himself in oblivion upon an estate in Burgundy, rather than to head armies in Egypt and Syria. Since Napoleone had usurped the supreme power, Lucien has superseded Joseph in the consular friendship, and is worthy to have done so, when vice and wickedness are the principal recommendations to favour.

Joseph is a good father and husband, a dutiful son and an affectionate brother, but an indifferent and dangerous citizen in a commonwealth. He is married to a woman of obscure birth, ignoble manners, but of an estimable and amiable character; he loves his family and relatives, and nothing but his family and relatives. His native country, Corsica, he dislikes; he hates France and

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suis annué de la nature humaine! J'ai besoin de solitude et d'isolement la grandeur m'annue, le sentiment est deseche, la gloire est fade a 29 ans j'ai tou epuisé. Il ne me reste plus qu'a devinir bien vraiment Egoiste. Je comte garder ma maison jamais je ne la donnerai a qui que ce soit. Je n'ai plus de quoi vivre! Adieu mon unique ami je n'ai jamais eté injuste envers toi. Tu me dois cette justice malgre le desir de mon coeur de l'etre tu m'entend!

Ambrasse tu femme pour moi.

The spelling is preserved exactly as it was in the original.

French-

Frenchmen, and would willingly sign the destruction of any kingdom, were it necessary for his family elevation, ambition or pretensions.

According to the Livre Rouge by Bourrienne, Joseph has received for an establishment, two millions of livres, and as presents for his negotiations, one million five hundred thousand livres; he enjoys, besides, the salaries for his many high places, a yearly pension of one million two hundred thousand livres, and as an annuity for four relations of his wife, two hundred thousand livres *.

* See Dictionnaire Biographique; Le Grand Homme, and la Sainte Famille, with several memoirs of Les Nouvelles a La Maine.

NAPOLEONE BUONAPARTE.

Quels traits me presentent vos fastes,
Impitoyable conquerans?
Des vœux outrés, des projets vastes
Des rois vaincus par des tyrans;
Des murs que la flamme ravage
Un vainqueur fumant de carnage,
Un peuple au fers abandonné;
Des meres pales et sanglantes
Arrachant leurs filles tremblantes
Des bras d'un soldat effréné. J. B. Rousseau.

A TRULY great man wants neither the often envied merit of an ancestry, nor the uncertain and doubtful hope of a brilliant progeny. He alone constitutes his whole race, he makes a blot of what has been before him, and apprehends nothing of what is to succeed him. Without virtue there is no real greatness, as without religion there is no genuine virtue. Fortune as frequently as talents, makes the warrior victorious and the conqueror successful; but [illegible] of battles, the renown of prosperity, [illegible] he terror of power, can command [illegible] of the good, [illegible] probation of the [illegible] applause of [illegible] and generous [illegible] worshipping [illegible]

Cæsar, extolling and adoring an Octavius Augustus? Were they not the base slaves of an usurpation, and not the free citizens of a commonwealth, who would as willingly and as cordially have prostrated themselves before their rivals or opposers, before a Scylla, a Pompey, a Brutus or an Antony? Who are those who squander encomiums, preach obedience, and extort submission to a Buonaparte? are they not the already degraded and dishonoured slaves of a Robespierre, a Marat, a Brissot, a Merlin, and a Barras; who have been fighting their battles, submitting to their tyranny in magnifying their clemency, just as they now do that of the Corsican?

All usurpers have been despised by the virtuous, dreaded by the weak and timorous, obeyed by the vicious and the coward, associated with the treacherous, disaffected and guilty; and if all usurpers are "damned to everlasting fame," their base tools deserve everlasting shame; because they are the accomplices of their crimes, the obscure instruments of their elevation, without an adequate profit or advantage to diminish their infamy, to extenuate their rebellion, or to palliate or excuse their seduction or desertion from the cause of honour and loyalty.

Of the accomplices or slaves of ancient usurpers,

ers, but little is known; oblivion has erased and concealed most of their names, although history has recorded their guilt; but we know that Cæsar descended from a noble family, and that Octavius was his nephew; we are, however, ignorant who were their relatives, what places they filled, what authority they exerted, what riches they possessed, what influence they had, what good they effected, or what evil they prevented.

By the short and imperfect sketches contained in these small volumes, some of Buonaparte's revolutionary predecessors, and many of his criminal associates, are made known as they deserve, without flattery and without falsehood, and the pedigree of his family has been traced, both such as it has been represented by his friends or published by his adversaries.

The plan of this work does not permit the Author either to follow him through his campaigns in Italy, to wander with him in Egypt; to discuss the cause, means, and manner of his usurpation; to penetrate into the secret views of ambition, or to speculate upon his future intentions, as a First Consul in France, as a President in Italy, or as a tyrant over thirty millions of Frenchmen, six millions of Italians, two millions of Helvetians, and three millions of Batavians. Others

have already painted the hero, admired the victor, illustrated the conqueror, and bowed to the usurper. Panegyric has been exhausted, comparisons worn out, praise wasted, made common and nauseous. The annals, the monuments of the ancients, and the memoirs, the works, the history and all the productions of the moderns, and of modern ingenuity, have been ransacked to find words applicable to a man, who, for the honour of humanity, had no equal in former times, and only one person nearly resembling him in the present age, who, like himself, from a subject and citizen, became a rebel, and from a rebel a tyrant. The parallel between Maximilian Robespierre and Napoleone Buonaparte is more striking than many are aware of, and their mutual revolutionary and cruel characters bear surprising traits of likeness, more, no doubt, than are remembered or recorded in this sketch.—In 1793, France suffered, and Europe was disturbed by the revolutionary anarchy of Robespierre; in 1803, France is enslaved, and Europe dishonoured, by the revolutionary tyranny of Buonaparte.

Robespierre and Buonaparte are both children of the same parent—the French Revolution; they are both brother *sans-culottes*; brother jacobins; fellow subjects of the sovereign people; fellow propa-

propagators of fraternity; fellow apostles of equality; and fellow destroyers of liberty in the name of Liberty itself. Fellow rebels to their King; they have both usurped his throne; and fellow apostates of their religion, they have both used religion as an instrument to support their usurpation.

Robespierre had but little revolutionary experience; Buonaparte has a perfect revolutionary education. That the same blood runs in the veins of both, the equally bloody measures employed to obtain power, and the equally bloody deeds to preserve it, prove beyond contradiction; but the impolitic terror employed by the one, has strengthened and confirmed the political oppression of the other.

The murder and massacre of the Parisians in the prisons, September, 1792, laid the foundation of the greatness of Robespierre; the murder and massacre of the Parisians in the streets, October, 1795, laid the foundation of the greatness of Buonaparte. Both were, however, previously known in the bloody annals of the Revolution; both had already given proofs of their revolutionary civism. Robespierre planned the massacre at Avignon, October, 1791; and Buonaparte headed the massacre at Toulon, in December, 1793.

Robespierre had his Danton; Buonaparte his Barras. The advice of Danton assisted Robespierre; the protection of Barras advanced Buonaparte. Robespierre, to become Dictator, espoused the interest of Danton; Buonaparte, to become a General, married the mistress of Barras. Robespierre sent Danton to the scaffold; Buonaparte sent Barras into exile. The one murdered an accomplice; the other disgraced a benefactor he dared not murder.

At the head of the Committee of Public Safety, Robespierre crowded the prisons with suspected Frenchmen; at the head of the army in Egypt, Buonaparte poisoned the wounded Frenchmen who crowded his hospitals. Robespierre guillotined *en masse* French aristocrats; Buonaparte poisoned *en masse* French soldiers. Fear moved the axe of Robespierre's guillotine; Cruelty distributed the poisonous draught of Buonaparte. Cowardice made Robespierre a murderer; calculation made Buonaparte a poisoner. The one destroyed those he feared as enemies; the other poisoned those friends who had served him as soldiers. Robespierre gave no quarter to his enemies; Buonaparte massacred, in cold blood, enemies to whom he had given quarter.

Robespierre declared a war of extermination against

against La Vendee; Buonaparte, by a perfidious peace, exterminated the Royalists of La Vendee. The one burned and plundered their property as enemies; the other imprisoned, transported, and murdered their persons when friends.

Robespierre, in his proclamations, threatened all Europe with a revolution; Buonaparte, by his negociations, has revolutionized the whole Continent of Europe. Robespierre, with his guillotine, proposed to establish an universal anarchy; Buonaparte, with his bayonets, proposes to establish an universal slavery.

Robespierre spoke of humanity, in sending hundreds every day to the scaffold; Buonaparte talks of generosity in sending to prison thousands of innocent travellers, protected by the laws of nations and of hospitality.

Robespierre *bravely* ordered no quarter to be given to British soldiers; Buonaparte *nobly* imprisons Britons who are no soldiers.

Under Robespierre, thousands of Frenchmen were in fetters; under Buonaparte, the whole French nation is enslaved.

Robespierre called all legal Princes tyrants; Buonaparte wishes to tyrannize over all legal Princes.

Robespierre, in his speeches, abused and insulted

all

all Monarchs; Buonaparte, by his negociations, has degraded Monarchy.

Robespierre proscribed commerce in France, by publishing a maximum; Buonaparte expects to revive commerce, by establishing a maximum upon thrones.

Robespierre, when a Dictator, to undermine thrones, continued to use the manners and language of a citizen *sans-culotte*; Buonaparte, when a Consul, to crush thrones, speaks to kings as if they were *sans-culottes*, and to emperors as if they were his fellow-citizens.

Robespierre was a revolutionary fanatic; Buonaparte is a revolutionary hypocrite. The one was blood-thirsty through fear and fanaticism; the other is cruel by nature, from ambition, and self-interest. The one boldly told all mankind, that he was its enemy; the other acts as the enemy of all mankind, in pretending to be its friend. The one decreed death to any one who should speak of peace; the other meditates slavery, plots, ruin, and prepares death by his pacifications.

The names of the victims who perished by Robespierrean cruelty, were published in the daily papers; the names of those victims of Buonaparte's

naparte's cruelty, who perish by the arms of his military commissions, by poison in his dungeons, by sufferings during transportation, and by misery in the wilds of Cayenne, are only known to himself, to his accomplices, and to his executioners. Robespierre's victims were tried and condemned before they were executed; the victims of Buonaparte are condemned without a trial, and executed without condemnation.

The revolutionary fanaticism of Robespierre, like the religious one of Cromwell, sent his king to the scaffold; the revolutionary hypocrisy and ambition of Buonaparte, like that of Cromwell, keeps his legal king from his hereditary throne.

The friends of Robespierre pretend that he died a martyr to his cause, as a revolutionary enthusiast; Buonaparte is a revolutionary sophist, who, probably, will perish the martyr of his own Machiavelism.

Robespierre was a Fleming; Buonaparte is a Corsican; the one born at Arras, in Flanders, the other at Ajaccio, in Corsica; the one in the northern, the other in the southern part of the French empire; neither of them was a Frenchman.

Robespierre has only been seen during foreign wars,

wars, civil troubles, and domestic factions; Buonaparte is firmly seated upon the throne of the Bourbons, all enemies are vanquished, all troubles are quieted, and all factions dissolved. What Robespierre would have done in his situation, it is impossible to say; but we have all witnessed, and yet witness, the proscription of liberty, the subversion of laws, the incertitude of property, and the organized military despotism of Buonaparte. The First Consul of the French Republic, and the sovereign of forty millions of slaves, shews every day the low whims, the mean caprices, the degrading vices, and the unbecoming passions of a Corsican adventurer, and the little soul of a fortunate upstart.

After this incomplete comparison, it may, however, be said, without exaggeration,

> Le masque tombe, l'homme reste
> Et le hèros s'evanouit.

And, indeed, when without any colouring, amplification or aggravation, only some of the atrocities of the Corsican First Consul have been related, it is to be apprehended, that even the MAN will disappear, and a monster remain, having nothing human but the shape, with the heart and ferocity of a tyger, the cunning and treachery of the

the fox, artful as a monkey, and blood-thirsty as a wolf.

Educated in a public military school, at the expence of his virtuous sovereign, Napoleone Buonaparte received, at the age of seventeen, from that same Prince, a commission as lieutenant of artillery; and new duties were added to former obligations; but no sooner sounded the trumpet of revolt, than he was one of the first to join its colours; and he became a traitor and a rebel before he was a man. Among the many other loyal officers in the regiment which Buonaparte disgraced by his principles and conduct, was Lieutenant Philipeaux, educated with him both in the college at Autun, and afterwards at the military school at Brienne, and who had hitherto been his friend. Philipeaux was frank, brave and liberal; Buonaparte conceited, selfish and mean; those opposite characters could, therefore, when experience and maturity improved judgment, not long remain united; imprudence, and want of discernment, often blind young and warm minds, who feel as a want, the pleasure to communicate with, and to confide in a friend, but cease to feel that sympathy when age has made them men, or misfortunes cause them to feel nothing for others, and but little for themselves.

Both

Both Philipeaux and Buonaparte had, from the absurd and dangerous system of education prevailing in France, during its monarchical form of government, imbibed at an early age, admiration for the Grecian and Roman republics. Each had his chosen heroes of antiquity, whom he desired to imitate in his method, manners and language. While Philipeaux rather inclined to the mild and amiable philosophy of Tullius, the cruel and unfeeling stoicism of a Cato and of a Brutus was the admiration of Buonaparte.

When the Revolution broke out, those two young men discussed, according to their different notions, what they owed to their king, to their country, and to themselves. Buonaparte, confounding stoicism with egotism, as he more than once had already done with cruelty, tried in vain to persuade his friend to regard the present political convulsions of France, as referring only to themselves, and the hope it held out to them of rapid advancement among the civil troubles of parties, and the struggles of factions. Philipeaux's loyalty remained unshaken by all the efforts of his friend's sophistry; and neither certainty of rank, nor prospect of riches could move the heart of a person firm in his duty both as a subject to his King, and as a Christian to his God.

The

The revolutionary fanaticism of Buonaparte soon knew no bounds; by associating with Championet, and other persons notorious in the cause of rebellion, he insulted the feelings of his friend, who soon ceased to be so any longer. In 1790, by taking the decreed oath to the nation, which annulled his former oath of allegiance to his prince, Buonaparte proved that he was unworthy the attachment of the friend of his youth; and, in proportion as their mutual affection had been great, their reciprocal hatred became violent. At the mess of their regiment, Philipeaux publicly insulted him as a perjured traitor; but, as this fashionable patriotism had been combined with a no less fashionable prudence, he declined (though so contrary to the nice principles of honour amongst the French military serving the King), either to demand explanation, or to take satisfaction as a gentleman or as an officer. He was, in consequence, excluded from the mess; and, in revenge, excited the jacobins to attack the whole corps of officers with their usual calumnies, abusing them as aristocrats, and threatening them with the lamp-post, or, as it was then called, the lantern of the sovereign people. To spare their countrymen fresh

crimes, most of the officers, amongst others Philipeaux, emigrated.

This base and cowardly behaviour convinced Philipeaux, that he had hitherto fostered a serpent in his bosom, and made him remember many particulars of their earliest youth, that caused him to be ashamed of having so long been the dupe of a man, whose ferocious and atrocious sentiments he had often witnessed; but, instead of ascribing them to a deeply vicious heart, believed them to originate from a head turned by wrong ideas of stoicism.

He recollected, that at the age of twelve, in the College at Autun, Buonaparte had a favourite dog, which had belonged to his deceased father, who was particularly fond of him, and on his death-bed had bequeathed him to Napoleone to be taken care of. For fifteen months this dog had been his constant and faithful attendant; when one night, by stealing a part of his master's supper, he offended him so much, that, after a cruel beating, Buonaparte swore the dog should never live another supper time; the next day he put his threat into execution, by nailing the poor animal alive against the wall, and cutting him up deliberately, that he might be tormented so much the longer!!!

At

At the age of fifteen, in the military school at Brienne, Buonaparte had an intrigue with the daughter of a washerwoman, who found herself in a state of pregnancy. He consulted Philipeaux, how to extricate himself from this disagreeable affair; and was advised by him to give her some money to carry her to the lying-in-hospital at Lyons, and he offered his purse to assist him. The money was accepted; but within twenty-four hours, the unfortunate girl perished with her child, victims to the early cruelty of this young monster, who had brought her some pills, as he said, to produce an abortion or a miscarriage; but which, in fact, were composed of, or mixed with verdigrease and arsenic. The protection of M. de Marbœuf, the interest and reputation of the school, and a sum of money given by his protector to the girl's mother, saved him from a well-deserved punishment.

On the day his poisoned mistress had been buried, he began to court her younger sister, and thus augmented his former guilt with unrepented and unfeeling insensibility. Friendship, often as blind as Love, ascribed to imitated stoicism, what was the effect of rooted wickedness.

His greatest amusement when a boy, was to frequent the public hospitals when any dreadful or disgusting

gusting operations were to be performed, and to regard the pains and agonies of the sufferer, and of the dying. With what little money he had, he paid the attendants in these abodes of misery, to be informed when any scene of horror, conformable to his feelings, was expected to take place; and he diverted himself often with his comrades, in mimicking the convulsive struggles of suffering or expiring humanity. He piqued himself on having seen, before he was fifteen, 544 operations, or amputations, and the agonies or deaths of 160 persons *.

After the emigration of most of the officers, Buonaparte was promoted to the rank of a captain. In the course of the Revolution he was often employed in different expeditions; but his situation was obscure, his exertions unnoticed, and his character suspected, on account of his known connexions with intriguers of all parties, either aristocrats or jacobins, either Frenchmen or Corsicans. After resigning his company in

* These particulars of Buonaparte are taken from a work called Les Annales de Terrorisme, printed by Desenne, at Paris, in 1795, or an iv. page 59, 60 and 62. In February, 1798, the Author, then a prisoner, was in company with Philipeaux at Paris, who confirmed the above-mentioned particulars in the presence of d'Ab....t, at present a Corsican Colonel of Artillery.

the

the regiment of artillery de la Fére, he obtained a battalion of National Guards in Corsica, where being suspected to plot the surrender of that island to the English, Lecourbe St. Michel, and two other deputies of the National Convention, ordered him to be arrested. This circumstance obliged him to leave the army; and he was residing in indigence eight leagues from Toulon, when, in 1793, that city was in the possession of the English: Salicetti, one of the deputies on mission with the republican army, having some acquaintance with Buonaparte, recommended him to his colleague Barras, and he was employed during the siege with the rank of a chef de brigade. The cruelties which followed the surrender of Toulon, he commenced or committed. By a deceitful proclamation, all the inhabitants who had any employment under the English during their occupation of Toulon; who had *served* or *lodged* any Englishman, or who had been *suspected* to have favoured their entry and the capitulation of that city, either *directly* or *indirectly*, were ordered under pain of death to meet in the grand place, called Le Champ de Mars, on a fixed day and hour. Upwards of fifteen hundred men, women and children, assembled there in consequence of this proclamation; Buonaparte then desired all those who wished to

escape punishment and death to cry out—Vive la Republique! With one voice these unfortunate persons called out, the Republic for ever! This was the signal for their destruction. Cannons loaded with grape shot, killed some, wounded and maimed others, who were dispatched with swords and bayonets. The official report of this ferocious performance is contained in the following letter from Buonaparte, addressed to Citizens Barras, Freron, and Robespierre the younger, representatives of the people, dated Toulon, the 29th Frimaire, Year 2 (December 24th, 1793).

"CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES,

"Upon the field of glory, my feet inundated with the blood of traitors, I announce to you, with a heart beating with joy, that your orders are executed, and France revenged; neither sex nor age have been spared; those who escaped, or were only mutilated by the discharge of our republican cannon, were dispatched by the swords of liberty and the bayonets of equality.

"Health and admiration,

"BRUTUS BUONAPARTE,

"Citizen sans-culottes *."

It was the fashion in 1792 and 1793, among the *exclusive* patriots, as they were called, to as-

* Les Annales du Terrorisme, p. 64.

sume

sume Roman and Grecian names; they intended by it to exclude from modern republicanism, and to regard as suspected, or to proscribe every citizen, who, as one* of them proposed at the jacobins, could not prove that, in case of a return of order and religion, a gibbet was merited and would reward his patriotism. This is the first time, but not the last, that Napoleone Buonaparte changed his christian name. In 1796 he was again Napoleone Buonaparte, but in 1798 he became Ali Buonaparte; and in 1800, *tout court*, only Bonaparte.

After the death of Robespierre, the horrors he had committed at Toulon caused him to be arrested as a terrorist, and sent a prisoner to Nice; but as it was impossible to prosecute all the subordinate agents in those disgraceful scenes, he was, with many of his accomplices, released by the amnesty of the National Convention; but on his return to Paris, failing in his efforts to procure employ, he was reduced to extreme distress and penury. In this desperate situation, he was again recom-

* In May 1794, when Robespierre accused Dubois Crancé with not being a patriot, the latter, to prove his patriotism, made the motion, that no man should be regarded, or protected as a patriot, who could not answer in the affirmative the question, "*have you done any thing to deserve the gallows, should the throne and altar be re-established.*"

mended

mended to the notice of Barras, drawn forth from his place of concealment, and invested with the command of the artillery, to be employed in murdering and subjugating the people of Paris.

The regicide National Convention which had overthrown the monarchy and the church, murdered its king, disturbed all Europe, and made all Frenchmen wretched, when forced to resign its usurped power, partly to continue it, decreed the re-election of two-thirds of its guilty members. This was opposed by all respectable and loyal citizens; amongst others, by the sections, and by the inhabitants of Paris, who prepared with arms to defend their violated rights.

Pichegru, Moreau, and other known and distinguished generals, were applied to, but declined to command the conventional troops, destined to perpetuate rebellion by exterminating its opposers. Buonaparte and other military criminals were then resorted to, and dragged forward from their hiding holes, and, by perpetrating new crimes, exchanged their well-deserved obscurity for a dreadful notoriety.

On the night of the 4th of October, 1795, preceding that which was to decide the fate of the National Convention and the new constitution, the two parties drew out their forces under circum-

circumstances widely different. The soldiers of the Convention were well armed, long disciplined, amply supplied with ammunition, and drilled into unanimity: the insurgent Parisian sections were deprived of the greater part of their arms, in consequence of the late insurrections; they had no artillery, and but a small supply of ammunition for their muskets; they had never seen any military service, and so far from being unanimous in any political sentiment, save that which occasioned their momentary combination, it was judged expedient to avoid every discussion, and every allusion to general affairs, and limit their demands, and their rallying word, to the single proposition of a free election, and no compulsory return of the two-thirds from the members of the Convention. The individuals who appeared in this insurrection, were not, as on former occasions, the refuse of villany and infamy, the dregs of the suburbs, and the sweepings of the gaols; but their decent appearance, and neatness in their dress, exposed them to the ridicule of their adversaries, who contemptuously inquired, whether a successful insurrection had ever been conducted by gentlemen with powdered heads and silk stockings?

General Danican, the commander of the troops of

of the Parisian sections, feeling the insufficiency of his force for a manual contest, was anxious to avoid hostilities, and spent great part of the night in haranguing the troops of the Convention, under Barras and Buonaparte, and attempting to persuade them, that, as fellow-citizens, the cause of the people was their own. He found great difficulty in making himself heard, amid the persevering cry of *vive la Convention!* which the battalions on duty were instructed to vociferate. Many hot-headed men of his own party were eager to engage; and Buonaparte, and the other satellites of the Convention, confiding in their superior number, were desirous of hostilities, as sure means of establishing their own power, and repressing all future exertions to counteract their unwarrantable assumption of authority. Danican did not, however, neglect other precautions suitable to his situation; and, by his efforts in the course of the night, his adherents were placed in a more respectable position than their numbers or their force had appeared to promise. Several of the sections, summoned by missionaries from the Convention to lay down their arms, had returned a resolute refusal; and the dread lest the soldiery should be persuaded to decline firing on the people, rendered the strongest party uneasy, though they persevered

severed in their original determination to try to the utmost extremes of blood, fire, and famine, rather than recede.

The troops of the Convention were reinforced during the next night, by twenty thousand men from the country; the generals who were suspected of an inclination to avoid the effusion of blood, were exchanged for others incapable of remorse or shame; the troops were intrenched, and the best positions secured. The Primary Assemblies were convened in the section of Le Pelletier; but the sanguine confidence of some, and the treacherous insinuations of others, bore down the prudent counsel of General Danican, and it was resolved to attack the troops of the Convention in their strong-hold, not from the expectation of advantage in a regular conflict, but from a blind hope and foolish confidence, that the military would not fire on the people.

The line of defence occupied by the Convention, extended from the *Pont-neuf* along the quays on the right bank of the Seine, to the *Champs Elysées*, and was continued to the Boulevards. The people were masters of the *Rue St. Honoré*, the *Place de Vendôme*, *St. Roch*, and the *Place du Palais Royal*; but they were without order, or a common point of action, and the nature of the insur-

insurrection had rendered it impossible to establish any. The Convention, pursuing the system they had so often before tried with success, wasted a great portion of the day in sending deputies to harangue the sections, and in receiving and discussing propositions of peace; but during the whole time thus gained, they were employed in reinforcing their positions, adding to their supplies, and raising the spirits of their troops. They knew that the insurrection must grow languid towards the evening, especially as those engaged in it had been exposed during the whole day, and part of the preceding night, to a storm, with a torrent of rain. Their scheme was attended with as complete success as they could wish for. Fervent debates in the Convention, messages, and an equivocating letter from the Committees to Danican, kept the people employed in discussion instead of action during the day; but as evening approached, when the general of the insurgents was preparing to withdraw his troops in separate portions, each to its own arrondissement, the forces of the Convention changed their position; the post of citizens at *St. Roch* was fired upon from a house in the *Cul de Sac Dauphin*, and the scene of carnage was begun. The citizens made at first some resistance, but the artillery, commanded

manded by the cruel Buonaparte, swept the streets in every direction, killed or wounded every person walking in them; and the insurgents, neither sufficiently numerous, nor sufficiently desperate to rush forward and seize the cannon, retreated in every direction, concealing themselves in houses, and under gateways, and finally in the church of St. Roch, while great numbers fled from the spot, crying treason, and spreading alarm and despair in every direction. All the barricades erected to oppose the progress of the troops of the Convention were beat down by Buonaparte's cannon, and men, women, and children, killed without mercy. Every expedient for resistance failed, and the insurgents being dispersed, and Danican himself obliged to ensure his safety by concealment, the regicide Convention remained victorious, and during the whole night, repeated discharges of cannon announced their triumph, and prevented any new rallying of their opponents.

Eight thousand mutilated carcasses of both sexes, and of all ages, were the horrible trophies presented to the French nation by Buonaparte's first victory as a general; but as he never before had filled any superior command, it is necessary to exhibit his principles and patriotism in their true

colours, by describing, from impartial and loyal authors, of what sort of men a Convention was composed, for whom Buonaparte had been fighting, or rather butchering.

The general character of this body, at once contemptible and formidable, atrociously wicked, and abjectly mean, cannot, however, be given complete, without a distinct revision of its acts, which, in government, religion, finance, jurisprudence, and warfare, exhibit but one principle—a resolute pursuit of a given object, with a total disregard of the opinions of mankind, and a contempt of all established or avowed principles of morality or good faith. But perverse and ignorant men, suddenly possessed of all the wealth, strength, and resources of an ingenious, rich, and powerful, nation, could not, without a peculiar mixture of ferocity and wickedness, have committed the acts which stigmatized the Convention; nor could the mighty energies which they aroused and guided, have been directed to so few purposes of real national good, but for the folly which generally accompanies extreme vice and depravity, and renders the triumph of villany bitter, even in the most ardent moment of enjoyment.

The general abstract of the acts of the Convention, and the effects of its existence, is thus detailed

detailed by Prudhomme, who, from an outrageous jacobin, became a repentant citizen, and to prove his sincerity, recorded the atrocities of his former accomplices. The sittings of the French National Convention continued thirty-seven months and four days, during which time, 11,210 laws were enacted, and 360 conspiracies, and 140 insurrections, denounced; 18,613 persons were put to death by the guillotine. The civil war at Lyons cost 31,200 men; that at Marseilles, 729. At Toulon, 14,325 were destroyed; and in the reactions in the South, after the fall of Robespierre, 750 individuals perished. The war in La Vendée is computed to have caused the destruction of 900,000 men, and more than 20,000 dwellings. Impressed with images of terror, 4790 persons committed suicide, and 3400 women died in consequence of premature deliveries; 20,000 are computed to have died of famine, and 1550 were driven to insanity. In the colonies, 124,000 white men, women, and children, and 60,000 people of colour, were massacred; two towns, and 3200 habitations, were burnt. The loss of men in the war is estimated, though certainly below the real truth, at 800,000; while 123,789, who had emigrated in the course of the Revolution,

were, by the Convention, for ever excluded from their country*.

Enchanted with Buonaparte's humanity and bravery in the streets of Paris, his protector, Barras, made him, first, the second in command in the army of the Interior, and, in a short time afterwards, the commander in chief over the same army. During the winter of 1795, to qualify himself for his new appointment, and to retain an interest with the Director Barras, Buonaparte wedded the widow of Alexander Beauharnois, who had, since the murder of her husband, in the time of Robespierre, exchanged with Barras, complaisance for protection, and who brought her new husband, as portion, the command over the army in Italy.

The military talents of Buonaparte were not unknown to, or undervalued by the Allies; but their armies in Italy were not put on a footing sufficiently respectable to encounter those of the Republic; they were vastly inferior in number, and of different nations: Austrians, Italians, Sardinians,

* The account of these transactions and particulars is taken from Les Brigands Demasque, by General Danican, and Prudhomme, vol. vi. and Tableau General.

Neapo-

Neapolitans, Swiss and Tuscans, all divided amongst themselves by national jealousy, instigated or kept up by French emissaries. Buonaparte's troops were both numerous and united, and mostly composed of veterans and warriors, instructed in the school of Pichegru, and by him accustomed to order, bravery, discipline and victory.

Influenced by the persuasion of the Court of Vienna, the King of Sardinia had, during the winter, refused advantageous proposals of peace and neutrality, and the still more tempting offer of the gift of the Milanese, if he would join the French. The Emperor, in return, had engaged that his troops in Italy should be augmented to sixty thousand, and General Beaulieu was induced to take the command by a similar promise; but, to the great disappointment both of his Sardinian Majesty and the Austrian general, when the campaign was on the eve of commencing, the Emperor had only been able to give half the promised reinforcement; and General d'Argenteau, whose treachery was suspected, and whose misconduct had occasioned many of the disasters of the late campaign, was not recalled, but still left to command, according to his rank, the right of the army.

Hostilities began early in April, at which period the French had eighty-five thousand, and the Allies sixty-five thousand men. After making feints along the whole extent of the Col di Tende, the Republicans spread a report of their intention to seize Genoa; and ten or twelve thousand men, under General La Harpe, pushed forward to St. Pierre d'Arena, a suburb of the city. General Beaulieu, setting out from Alexandria to oppose them, took post in the front of the defile of the Bocchetta, and caused a strong detachment to advance to the gates of Genoa. The chiefs of the government endeavoured to collect troops for the defence of their independence; but there, as in all other places, where the Republican satellites approached, the internal danger of insurrection, from the prevalence of French principles, was far more alarming than even the terror of violence from without.

The Austrian commander, perceiving that the French became daily more formidable, on the 10th of April, 1796, prepared a judicious plan of general attack, in which his operations were combined with those of General Colli, who then commanded the Piedmontese troops, but deserting soon after, he was made, and is yet, a general in the French army; and the success in execution depended

in a great measure on him, and on the conduct of another suspicious character, d'Argenteau. Beaulieu's presence forced Colli to be successful; but d'Argenteau, who was to storm an intrenched position, consisting of three great redoubts, was, as might be expected, repulsed at the two first, and did not arrive at the last, situated on Montenotte, till the day closed. Rampon, the French general who commanded it, received reinforcements during the night, and dispersed them in the neighbouring woods; d'Argenteau, treacherously or incautiously advancing, was assailed on all sides and put to route. Willing not to remain longer, or fearing that he should no longer be able to resist the French, he wrote to Colonel Vuckassowich to join him with three or four thousand men; *but, by an astonishing inadvertence, dated his letter erroneously, and appointed the succours a day later than he intended.* In the mean time Buonaparte, having reinforced his right, and ordered La Harpe to advance between Generals Beaulieu and d'Argenteau, marched forward by the valley of Tanaro and the heights of Savona, to turn the right of the Austrians, and separate them from General Colli. This attempt was crowned with success, and victory remained

with

with the French, who took possession of Carcara, and established themselves on the heights surrounding Cairo.

On the 14th the Republicans, rapidly advancing, forced the weakened and betrayed Imperialists to risk another general engagement at Montelezino, in which they again essayed their former manœuvre with success, and put d'Argenteau to flight. Colonel Vuckassowich, unexpectedly coming up with the men who had been applied for, gained considerable temporary advantages, and might even have turned the fate of the day; but d'Argenteau took no means to rally his troops, and Vuckassowich was obliged, after maintaining an honourable conflict, to retire with great loss. In his precipitate retreat on the 12th, d'Argenteau *had forgotten* a detached corps under Lieutenant-general Provera; and this officer did not learn the defeat of the Allies till he saw the republicans advancing against him. He was prevented from retreating to the Austrians by a sudden swell of the Bormida, and therefore retired, without provisions or water, to a high mountain, where for two days he defended himself with incredible valour against the assault of the whole French army, repulsing them with dreadful

dreadful carnage, killing two, and wounding one of their general officers, and surrendering at last only through fatigue and famine.

Though the battle of Montelezino had greatly weakened the communication between the Austrian and Piedmontese armies, *they made no combined movement to approach each other and contract their line.* Buonaparte gained the opportunity of placing himself between them, and forcing the Piedmontese to act separately. They were on the 14th attacked in their intrenched camp, and, *though they repulsed the assailants, General Colli found it necessary to abandon their position the ensuing day,* and place them between the conflux of the rivers Tanaro and Cursaglia, where for four days more they resisted the efforts of the Republicans to dislodge them. The French, however, having, as might be expected, crossed the Tanaro, Colli retreated towards Mondovi, but was overtaken and defeated at Vico; and Mondovi the same evening fell into the hands of the enemy.

The Piedmontese army, being thus entirely separated from the Austrians, took a good defensive position behind the Stura, calculated to prevent the irruption of the French into Piedmont; but the King of Sardinia, advised by his *faithful* councillors, and fearful of risking his crown on the

the uncertain issue of a battle, obtained an armistice at the expence of the fortresses of Coni, Ceva and Tortona, and the town of Alexandria; several important permissions were besides extorted by Buonaparte, and conceded to the republicans, particularly those of remaining masters of all the country on the right bank of the Tanaro, of crossing the Po below the town of Valenza, and passing freely through the territories of the King of Sardinia. This armistice was succeeded by a treaty of peace with the French Republic; but within eighteen months afterwards he was dethroned by the French republicans, after having in vain endured their repeated plunder, insults, and threats.

As this campaign began Buonaparte's *military glory*, particulars have been related to an extent, otherwise not corresponding with the plan of this sketch, but necessary to prove, that treason, accompanied with superior forces, some ability, and great audacity and fortune, have laid its principal basis, and that if d'Argenteau and Colli had done their duty as generals and subjects, Buonaparte might yet have to establish his reputation as a warrior and commander; but situated as he was, any chief, even not possessing his talents, or not so much favoured by numbers and fortune, might have

have done as great things with more generosity and less cruelty.

From this period until the peace of Campo Formio, Buonaparte marched from success to success, from victory to victory, owing more to the continual inferiority of the Austrians, to the want of vigour in their councils, and capacity of their generals in the field, than to the courage and brilliant manœuvres of the French Commander.

Buonaparte, amongst his other exploits, terrified most of the princes and states of Italy into a deceitful peace; obtained great sacrifices in money for *protection* and *neutrality*; and he afterwards plundered in mass the subjects, and proscribed the sovereigns of those protected and neutral countries.

Without generosity, and often without opposition, he vanquished, and without faith he always negotiated. Perfidy and ferocity were interwoven with his olive branches of peace, as well as with his laurels of victory—laurels stained with the blood not of an enemy, conquered or defeated, but in that of deluded neutrals and friends, disarmed as well as deceived.

By proclaiming Lombardy a republic, he destroyed its former liberty; and in making its inhabitants citizens of a commonwealth, prepared for them perpetual fetters. The *neutral* republic

of

of Genoa, lost its independence, trade and prosperity, with its former name and constitution, and the present Ligurian government reigns only over the ruins of former Genoa. After having plundered Venice, another neutral, and the most ancient of all modern republics, of its immense treasures, monuments of arts, and navy, and butchered fifteen thousand of its best citizens, he exchanged, and gave up to form, some new provinces under the Austrian monarchy. The *neutral* Tuscany was invaded and pillaged by him; but in 1796 Austria was not yet weakened enough to endure, nor Buonaparte powerful enough to dare to create a Spanish prince a king over an Austrian province: this remained to be done, when he had attained the climax of perfidy and power.

The Duke of Modena paid millions to Buonaparte for the neutrality of his dominions, and in obtaining the guarantee of the French Republic for their integrity. But the French General, after pocketing the money, continued to treat Modena as a conquered country; and, by his advice, within six months after his treaty of peace, neutrality and guarantee, the French Government incorporated this dutchy with the Cisalpine Republic; and the Duke of Modena died an exile in Germany. *Without being in war*, the

Pope

Pope was forced to conclude a peace with Buonaparte, and to give up some of his most valuable provinces to augment the departments of the Corsican's newly-formed republic; and, two years afterwards, the Pope died a prisoner in France, after having seen the wretchedness of his subjects, the ruin of his country, with that of his government. The King of Naples made numerous pecuniary and other sacrifices for obtaining peace and neutrality; but French intrigues and conspirators were more dangerous than French soldiers. When France was no longer an enemy, its emissaries perverted the loyalty of his subjects; and fourteen months of French friendship obliged his Sicilian Majesty (to avoid the destiny of the Pope), to fly from his capital, and be indebted to an English fleet for his safety, for his throne, and for his life.

In such a manner did Buonaparte act, and such were some of the consequences of his victories over, and his negotiations with, most of the powers in Italy, whom French ambition treated as enemies, French cupidity received as friends, and French treachery weakened, ruined or annihilated. When a man is without sentiments of common justice, generosity and liberality; has no political faith or honour, and no religious principles, he

must be as unfeeling, barbarous and tyrannical over his countrymen, and those immediately under his command and disposal, as he has been base and cruel with foreigners and strangers.

In the opinions of the inconsistent and degenerated French republicans, as well as in those of *some* people in other countries, the conqueror of Italy had erased the crimes of the murderer at Toulon and at Paris; but that a vicious nature does not change with fortune, nor a depraved character with public opinion, the following letter, written in 1797, by a French general, and transmitted to this country by an ambassador of one of the powers allied to the French Republic will prove. Its original will be found in No. 101, of "*Paris pendant l'année* 1797." Its republication at present adds new conviction to what has already been affirmed, and identifies the *Hero* of 1797, with the *Consul* of 1803, and serves to establish more firmly the truth of those atrocities, of which the Corsican has been publicly accused, both before and since the period in which it was written.

"Escaped at last from the long and cruel fatigues of the most murderous of wars, I am just arrived from the army of Italy, after being lamed for life at the battle of Arcola. I have paid the debt

debt of gratitude, which I owed to my country; I have given her proofs of my zeal and of my love, and have sealed them with my blood. Become an invalid in the bloom of youth, and no longer able to fight in her service, I am entitled to her protection. In her bosom have I sought an asylum, and no longer able to serve her with an arm paralysed by the steel of the enemy; I, nevertheless, devote to her a heart which adores her, and a holy boldness in denouncing to her, I will not say abuses, that would be too cold an expression, but deeds of atrocity, at which Nero himself would have blushed, and which Suetonius would not have dared to impute to that monster.

"Believe me, I do not dispute the great military talents of Buonaparte; his successes speak for themselves. But what I contend for is, that Buonaparte is the most dangerous of all the French citizens; that Buonaparte is a citizen in the manner of Cæsar, that it is in the manner of Cæsar that he loves equality, and that it is with all the contempt which Cæsar entertained for the senate of Rome, that Buonaparte speaks of the government of France. For the truth of my assertion, I appeal to all who are in the habit of being constantly about his person. He is Gustavus in the midst of battle: but, like Gustavus,

He pants for a throne and a crown, not to set it upon the head of this or that prince, but to place it upon his own.

" The most violent satraps of the great king had less power, and certainly less insolence and less vanity, than Buonaparte has given proofs of, during his campaigns in Italy.

" These are facts of the greatest notoriety. I only relate what all have seen, what every general has heard, and what all are ready to depose, whenever they are called on by the Directory, with the exception of a wretch of the name of *Le Clerc* *, the slave of Robespierre, of *Rusca*, a drinker of blood, and a shameless robber, and of a few brigands of the same stamp.

" Ardently do I hope, that some one more skilful than myself, will furnish the public with a detail of the atrocities committed by Buonaparte: they exceed all possible belief! I call upon every true Frenchman, now at the head of our armies in Italy, to save their country and their fellow-citizens, and to declare to the Directory what they know of the facts which I am about to denounce.

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* This wretch afterwards married the Corsican's sister, and was sent with the command of the army to Saint Domingo, where he paid the forfeit of his crimes.

I call

I call too, upon the Directory, to interrogate the best generals in the army. Guarantee them but from the *poniard* of Buonaparte, then will they speak out, and this is what they will depose.

" Buonaparte, besides the contributions which he levies, exacts also enormous sums for himself, and appropriates to his own use as much of the spoliation of the countries he has devastated as suits his convenience; this money is lodged in the hands of several bankers at Genoa, Leghorn, and Venice. Very considerable sums also have been sent into Corsica.

" Buonaparte is at once the vainest and the most impudent of mortals. But he unites the vanity of a child to the atrocity of a demon.

" I say—(and it is what twenty thousand men know without daring to say it, but what all will say, now that, like another Curtius, I throw myself into the gulf, for the safety of my brethren in arms)—I say, that in no age, and under no tyrant, have crimes more enormous been committed, than those which are daily committed under the direction and authority of Buonaparte!

" Will it be credited, that in the hospitals appropriated to the sick and wounded, the surgeons devoted to Buonaparte have *a constant order*, as

soon as they see a sick soldier past recovery, or one whose incurable wounds will render him no longer of use to the service, to set a mark upon his bed; which fatal mark announces to the attendants that this victim *is to be carried away with the dead!* He is accordingly thrown into a waggon appointed to remove the dead bodies to the grave, and is generally *strangled* or *smothered!* But, notwithstanding these precautions, as the carriages move along to the place of interment, the cries and groans of the unfortunate men about *to be buried alive*, may be distinctly heard on all sides! To this horrible fact I have myself been an eye-witness, as well as to what I am going to relate.

" In the month of July 1797, after an action which took place near Salo, on the Lac de Guarda, Buonaparte gave orders that *not only the dead, but the dying and wounded, should be buried!* The wretched victims were placed upon five waggons, and at midnight were dragged to an enormous ditch, and precipitated therein. The cries of the living being distinctly heard, the monsters threw down eight loads of burning lime upon them, which, falling upon the undressed wounds of the poor victims, caused them to send forth such piercing moans, that the virtuous curate

rate of Salo, seized with horror at the transaction, died in consequence of the affright!

"Such are the atrocities to which I have been an eye-witness, and which I denounce to all men and to all ages! If the Directory wish to be satisfied as to the truth of my assertions, they have it in their power to be so. I do not sign my name to this letter, as I am not desirous of being assassinated before the examination of the crimes I have denounced can take place. I call upon the Directory to verify the facts; and, that done, I will immediately present myself before them as a witness. In the mean time, I shall make myself known to Rewbell."

This letter speaks for itself; and if Rewbell did not denounce or punish Buonaparte at that time, it was because he had shared with him some of his plunder of Italy, and that the Corsican was, besides, necessary for the revolution which Rewbell, Barras, and La Reveilliere prepared, and which actually took place on the 4th of September, 1797.

Nearly at the same period that Buonaparte committed, or ordered these enormities to be committed, he dispatched a letter to the Archduke Charles, with proposals for a termination of hostilities, couched in terms of the most impudent hypo-

hypocrisy as to his own sentiments, and insult as to the conduct of Great Britain. "As for me, General (said Buonaparte), *if the overture which I have the honour to make to you, can save the life of a* SINGLE *man, I shall pride myself more upon the civic crown, that my* CONSCIENCE *will tell me I thus shall have deserved, than upon the melancholy glory which arises from military success.*" What heart must that man have, who coldly speculates upon sufferings and destruction, by commanding, with a cruel indifference, the burial *alive* of his wounded soldiers? What barefaced impudence must he not possess, and how great must not his contempt have been, both for the prince to whom he wrote, and for mankind in general, to dare to talk of a conscience, and to make use of expressions of tenderness and humanity, in acting as the most profoundly perverted and atrocious of all tyrants, either ancient or modern? But such has been the hypocritical and deceitful jargon of all revolutionary heroes. Demons in their minds, sentiments and behaviour, they were angels in their words. Robespierre spoke of liberty and virtue, whilst two hundred and fifty thousand families crowded his prisons, and hundreds daily ascended his scaffold; just as Buonaparte writes of a conscience, when all his

actions

actions bid defiance to a divinity as well as to humanity.

During the campaigns in Italy, in 1796 and 1797, military execution was inflicted, and destruction ordered by Buonaparte on a number of cities, towns and villages, and on their unfortunate inhabitants. In July 1796, an insurrection broke out in the city of Pavia, and spread itself in some parts of Lombardy. At Milan, the French bayonets, and the French butcheries, soon *restored order*; but, at Binasco, of eight hundred armed peasants who tried to defend their lives and property against the republican assassins and plunderers, two hundred were shot, and this large village entirely burnt to the ground by the command of Buonaparte. At Pavia, the inhabitants shut their gates against the French troops, who, with their cannon, forced their entrance without the loss of an individual: Buonaparte condemned, however, the whole municipality to be shot, and two hundred hostages to be sent as prisoners to France. In his public orders to his soldiers, Buonaparte declared, that if a Frenchman had been killed in the attack on Pavia, his intent was to cause that city to be burnt or demolished, and to erect a column on the spot, with the inscription: *ici etoit la ville de Pavie.* On the 8th of March,

March, 1797, the towns of Macegata, Fermo, Porto di Fermo, Grotto di Mari, and Jesi, were by Buonaparte given up to military execution, and their citizens to plunder and murder. According to the author of *Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie*, printed at Verona in 1799, during sixteen months campaign in Italy, Buonaparte caused twenty-four villages, and six towns to be burned, ten thousand and ninety of their inhabitants to be shot, thrown into the fire of their burning dwellings, or to be drowned. Five thousand and forty-two virgins were ravished, and fourteen thousand six hundred and twenty-six married women were violated. Thirty-two villages, nine towns, and four cities were laid under military execution, and six hundred and fifty-two thousand of their inhabitants, who escaped death, reduced to want and beggary.

The peace of Campo Formio permitted Buonaparte to leave wretched Italy, to return to France, and to prepare the ruin of other countries. A revolution had a short time before taken place at Paris, and the Republican and Directorial Constitution had been openly violated by the conspirators' intrigues, and crimes of Buonaparte's friends, backed with the addresses and bayonets of his army in Italy. By the imprisonment or transpor-

transportation of all loyal men, the very dregs of the jacobins, and of all other former ferocious factions, were become all-powerful. Buonaparte was their idol, who could command their daggers, as much as he possessed their good opinion.

Of all countries not yet cursed with a French fraternity, Switzerland was the nearest at hand, and most envied by Buonaparte, on account of the true liberty and real happiness of its inhabitants. The Swiss Government had, however, done every thing to please France, and therefore flattered itself with the chimera of having acquired the good will of Buonaparte, and of the French rulers: it bowed when it should have armed, and it negotiated when it should have been fighting; like the worshippers of malignant deities, it prostrated itself before him with the offering of its affections, without considering that the only sacrifice that could satisfy him and his associates, was that of the constitution, of the independence, and of the riches of Switzerland.

That this was really the case, Buonaparte undertook in Italy to convince even the most incredulous, the greatest disbeliever, by writing *the sentence of neutral states on the ruins of Genoa and Venice*; he divulged to Europe the mysteries of his own political faith, as well as that of present

sent and future French republican rulers. Such effrontery and perfidy, an hypocrisy so dastardly combined such barefaced usurpations, denounced the dissolution of every social system. A revolutionist by constitution, a conqueror by subornation, cruel and unjust by instinct, insulting in victory, mercenary in his patronage, an inexorable plunderer and murderer, purchased by the victims whose credulity he betrays, as terrible by his artifices as by his arms, dishonouring valour by ferocity, and by the *studied abuse* of public faith, crowning immorality with the palms of philosophy, tyranny and atheism with the cloak of religion, and oppression with the cap of liberty; this fortunate Corsican, carrying the torch of Erostratus in one hand, and the sabre of Genseric in the other, had already laid the plan for burying Switzerland under the rubbish of Italy. But this sulphureous spreader of havock had not time to carry this plan against Helvetia into execution; certain of its success, he was forced to leave it to an old accomplice—to General Brune, a man worthy to be the confidential friend of Buonaparte, as he had before been of Marat and Robespierre; and the Corsican steered his course towards Africa, in hope of making that part of the world and Asia as miserable as he had left all countries

countries of Europe where his plots or arms had penetrated.

Before the atrocious and sanguinary tragedy of the reduction of Switzerland was accomplished, treachery and ambition had carried Buonaparte into Egypt, and with him the wretchedness of French fraternity and the horrors of unprovoked aggression. While the uninformed in France, as well as other countries, were amused by pretences of a powerful preparation for the invasion of England, and Buonaparte went even so far as to swindle monied men of a loan upon this country; those who examined more considerately the place and manner of equipping the armament, were satisfied that its destination was for some other coast, and public expectation had already pointed out that of Egypt. It was no secret, that during the monarchy, many projectors who hoped to recommend themselves by suggesting extensive enterprises, had lodged, as far back as in the time of Louis XIV., in the offices of different ministers, projects for the subjugation of Egypt; but the old government, having always some regard to appearances, and some consideration for the lives of the people, had not ventured to patronize an undertaking, which could not be atchieved without the infamy of assailing the dominions of

an ancient and unprovoking ally, and the probable sacrifice of a great portion of the army in conquering a tract of land situated in an untried climate, where privations and diseases of every kind would thin their ranks and make them execrate the fatal ambition of their rulers. Recent travellers from France had described Egypt in terms widely different from those in which the experience of earlier and more honest ages had depicted it; and the hopes of possessing a land replete with means of colonization and commerce, combined with that of destroying the power of Great Britain in India, were supposed sufficient motives with republican France for the violation of all treaties and the oblivion of all rights.

Bonaparte was entrusted with the command of this expedition; and in assuming this station, his personal ambition to tread the ground which had been impressed with the victorious footsteps of Alexander and Cæsar, was subservient to the views of the Directory, who hated, feared, and, according to Carnot, were anxious to destroy him. Probably both the rulers and the general were acting with refined artifice and duplicity: they hoped to deprive him of the advantages resulting from the command of an army which he had led to *glory*, by involving that army in a seri-

ous

ous and uncertain expedition; while he, relying on his renown and popularity, and desirous to avoid interfering personally in the transactions of the congress at Rastadt, which then engaged the attention of all Europe, accepted the command of the expedition, though he intended merely, as his intercepted letters prove, to accomplish the first part of its destination, and return to France in the autumn.

Whatever sagacity might be exerted in conjectures respecting the destination of the French fleet, which, including transports, amounted to upwards of four hundred sail, nothing certain could be learnt: the troops sent for embarkation were called the right wing of the Army of England: but the squadron being assembled in the port of Toulon, and the collection of *Savans*, of printing-presses, and various other implements of science, demonstrated that its destination was for some other country. At length, on the 4th of May, 1798, Buonaparte repaired to Toulon for the purpose of commanding this far-famed and mysterious expedition; and, as a preparatory measure, published a kind of military harangue, in form of a proclamation, reminding his soldiers of their numerous victories on mountains, in plains, and before fortified places, and that nothing now remained for

them to atchieve but maritime conquests; they would now, he said, even exceed their former exertions *for the prosperity of their country, the good of mankind,* and *their* own glory.

On the 19th following, the fleet sailed, and soon arrived off Malta, the Grand Master of which island had long been bribed by French emissaries, and had prepared for its surrender. On the 10th of June, Buonaparte commenced a farce of provoking hostilities, by demanding permission to water his squadron: an indirect refusal being conveyed, the military were disembarked, and, after two days of pretended resistance, a capitulation was signed, yielding the islands of Malta, Gozo and Cumino to France. Some ridiculous stipulations were made for obtaining indemnities for the Grand Master at the Congress of Rastadt, and for assigning to each of the knights a paltry pension of seven hundred livres (29l. sterl.) Buonaparte, as usual, accommodated the new acquisition with a constitution on the French model; and, having plundered the island, again proceeded towards his final destination. Before, however, he set sail, he put into requisition all Maltese sailors, and one hundred and ten young Maltese knights, all sons of relatives of emigrated French noblemen who were in the army of Condé, or in the Austrian

Austrian or English service. They were distributed amongst the republican crews of different ships; and, in the action at Aboukir, many of them were killed or wounded in fighting with men, and for a cause, they alike detested. Twenty-two of these unfortunate young men were blown up in the L'Orient, one of whom was a Chevalier de St. Leger, from La Vendée, whose father had been killed in the army of Condé, whose brother was butchered at Quiberon, and whose uncle had been shot as a Chouan.

On the 1st of July, Buonaparte with all his force appeared before Alexandria, being only two days after Lord Nelson had quitted that station. Apprehensive that Fortune might yet desert him, and the English fleet return to frustrate his operations, Buonaparte hastily effected a landing of about four thousand three hundred men at Marabou. Although this place was only two leagues from Alexandria, the French found no opposition from the natives; not even a piece of artillery was planted for protection. Having subsequently augmented the number landed to upwards of twenty-five thousand, they advanced in platoons against the city, and reached it unopposed, except by a few Mamelukes, who, hovering

around, cut off stragglers, and fought a few slight and partial skirmishes.

He began, before any attack was made on Alexandria, by circulating a printed address to his army, in which, after observing that the Romans protected all religions, he requested the soldiery to treat the "Muftis and Imans of Africa *with the same respect* that they had exhibited towards the bishops and rabbins of Europe." He also transmitted three proclamations, prepared beforehand, and dated on board the flag-ship; the first to the Pacha of Egypt, stating, "that he was come *to put an end to the exactions of the Mamelukes*;" and inviting his Highness, in the oriental style, "to *meet* and *curse* along with him, the *impious* race of Beys." The second was addressed to the chief of the caravan; and the last to the inhabitants: in this he had the impudence to assert, "that he was come to *rescue the rights of the poor* from the hands of their tyrants;" and added, with his usual hypocritical cant, "that *the French respect*, more than the Mamelukes, *God*, HIS PROPHET, and THE KORAN."

"Cadis, Sheiks, Imans, Chirbadgees!" continued he, "tell the people that we are *the friends of true Mussulmen*. Did we not *dethrone the Pope*, who

who preached that it was necessary to make war against the *true believers?* Did we *not destroy* the knights of Malta, because *those foolish men* thought that God wished hostilities to be perpetually carried on against those of your faith?" After stating, "that *all towns* and *villages* which might arm against the French, *should be burnt*," he commanded every one to remain in his house, *enjoined prayers* to be said as usual, and concluded with, "*Glory to the Sultan, glory to the French army*, HIS FRIENDS, *curses* to the Mamelukes, and *happiness* to the people of Egypt." It is hardly possible to point out any page of ancient or modern history, where impudence is more united with falsehood, deception and imposture with atheism and political treachery. Buonaparte, accompanied by his staff, headed the advanced guard marching against Alexandria, a defenceless city, the property and possession of one of the most ancient allies of France. General Bon commanded the column on the right; that in the centre was led by General Kleber, while the left, under General Menou, proceeded along the sea coast. Alexandria was garrisoned by about five hundred unskilful Janissaries; and the remaining inhabitants, in the forts, and on the tops of houses, waited the attack. It has been asserted,

but

but without any proof, that Alexandria was summoned; but the people answered only by the shouts of the garrison and the inhabitants, and by some cannon shot. The French had not yet landed their ordnance; but the defences of Alexandria were so weak as to forbid all fear. Buonaparte, therefore, bravely gave orders to beat a charge; and the French, advancing towards the walls, prepared to scale them. While the generals and privates were attempting to reach the summit, Kleber received a musket-shot in the head, and Menou was thrown back from the parapet, covered with contusions; but the walls were, notwithstanding, soon covered with republicans, while the besieged fled. Here began a scene of horror and carnage, commanded by the sanguinary and barbarous policy of Buonaparte, which would hardly be credible, had it not been authenticated by the original letters of the French generals, intercepted by our cruizers, and made public by our government. After the butchery of every person on the walls or in the streets, all houses were forced, and entered, and neither age nor sex spared. Trusting to the *proclaimed respect* of Buonaparte for their Prophet, numbers of Mussulmen took refuge in their sacred mosques; but the republicans pursued with the rage of cannibals:

balls: men and women, old and young, children at the breast, all were inhumanly murdered without resistance, as well as without pity; and these bloody transactions lasted four hours; when at last, these *improvers of the happiness of mankind*, glutted with massacre, desisted.

From the manner in which the capture of Alexandria by Buonaparte is narrated, by persons not interested to impart false impressions, it is beyond a doubt, because it is positively affirmed, that this city was not summoned in order to found a pretence for storming it, and thus striking terror into the intended victims of Buonaparte's perfidy and barbarity. In an intercepted letter from the French Adjutant-general Boyer, addressed to General Kilmaine, are the following paragraphs*:

"We began by making an assault upon a place *without any defence*, and garrisoned by about 500 Janissaries, *of whom scarce a man knew how to level a musket*. I allude to Alexandria, a huge and wretched skeleton of a place, *open on every side*, and most certainly very unable to resist the efforts of 25,000 men, who attacked it at the same instant. We lost, notwithstanding, 150 men, *whom we might have preserved, by only summoning*

* See Intercepted Correspondence, vol. ii. No. xi.

the

the town, but it was thought necessary to begin by striking terror into the enemy."

Possession having been thus obtained of Alexandria, the French commander, the Corsican Buonaparte, issued another proclamation amongst the miserable survivors of massacre, augmenting and improving upon his former ones, and which will signalize, to all ages, his contempt of divine institutions; a proclamation designed, undoubtedly, as a trick to allure the confidence of the natives, but which, whenever viewed impartially, must sink into the most degrading contempt the character of that military adventurer, who, in a piratical pursuit of plunder, not only committed the most unprincipled barbarities, but voluntarily announced the renunciation of his faith, which, when performed through compulsion, stamps on the delinquent the name of renegado, and is justly considered as the last test of a depraved mind, devoid as well of religion, virtue and integrity, as incapable of honour. In this proclamation, "he is expressly denying Jesus Christ," affirming, "that he himself, his generals, officers and soldiers, are true professors of Islamism, who adore and honour the prophet Mahomet and his holy koran;" that, "as a Mussulman, he had overthrown the throne of the Christian Pope, visited Malta,

Malta, and drove out the unbelievers from that island."

From this period until his defeat before Acre, in the spring of 1799, except in some skirmishes, which he decorated with the appellation of battles, Buonaparte had no regular enemy to encounter, no armies to combat; some strolling Mamelukes, or Arabs, were his only foes. To judge, therefore, rightly, of the bombastic descriptions of his battle of the Pyramids, and others, another passage from the above-quoted letter is useful, and proper to be extracted, as the competency of the writer, a general communicating his sentiments and opinions to another general, cannot be questioned. Its date at Cairo, July 28th, 1798, proves it posterior to all engagement for the possession of Lower Egypt. "Our entrance to Grand Cairo," says General Boyer, "will doubtless excite that sensation at home which every extraordinary event is calculated to produce; but when you come to know the kind of enemy we had to combat, *the little art they employed against us*, and *the perfect nullity of all their measures, our expeditions and our victories will appear to you very common things*. After this (the assault of Alexandria), we marched against the Mamelukes; a people highly celebrated amongst the Egyptians for their bravery.

bravery. *This rabble* (I cannot call them soldiers), *which has not the most trifling idea of tactics*, and which *knows nothing of war* but the blood that is spilt in it, appeared, for the first time, opposed to our army on the 13th July.

From the first dawn of day, they made a general display of their forces, which straggled round and round our army, *like so many cattle*; sometimes galloping, and sometimes pacing, in groups of ten, fifty, a hundred, &c. After some time, they made several attempts, *in a style equally ridiculous* and curious, to break in upon us; but finding every where a resistance, which they probably did not expect, they spent the day in keeping us exposed to the fury of a burning sun. *Had we been a little more enterprising this day, I think their fate would have been decided*; but General Buonaparte temporized, that he might make a trial of his enemy, and become acquainted with their manner of fighting.

This day ended with the retreat of the Mamelukes, *who scarcely lost five and twenty men.* We continued our march up the Nile till the 21st, which was the day that put a final termination to the power of the Mamelukes in Egypt.

Four thousand men on horseback, having each a groom or two, bore down intrepidly *on a numerous*

with army of veterans; their charge was an act of fury, rage and despair. They attacked Dessaix and Regnier first. The soldiers of these divisions received them with steadiness, and, at the distance only of ten paces, opened a running fire upon them, which brought down *one hundred and fifty*. They then fell upon Bonn's division, which received them in the same manner. In short, after a number of unavailing efforts, they made off; and carrying with them all their treasures, took shelter in Upper Egypt. The fruit of *this victory* was Grand Cairo, where we have been ever since the evening of the 22d."

Not counting those who perished in the massacre at Alexandria, from this official letter is learnt, that no more than one hundred and seventy-five enemies were killed by the French in those *brilliant victories with a numerous army of veterans*, over *four thousand inexperienced Mamelukes*, which made them masters of one of the most fertile countries in the world.

At Cairo, Buonaparte mingled the toils necessary for the maintenance of his situation with those exhibitions and pursuits which were calculated to captivate the people of France, by accounts of their own systems and manners, extending themselves to new regions, while the

people of the country were to be at once astonished, terrified and overawed. The rigour of military discipline, the privation of every species of liberty and property, the violation of females, and the disarming of the natives, were accompanied by pretexts of paying devoted homage to Mahomet; and this degrading hypocrisy was carried to such an extent, that Buonaparte himself, after issuing several profane and ridiculous proclamations, was not unfrequently distinguished by the name of ALI. Besides the mingled and absurd forms of French revolutionary jurisprudence, with the concomitant buffooneries and disguises, the people of Egypt witnessed with astonishment, efforts to counteract their very natures, to bring into subjection the fierce and uncontrolable Mameluke, fix the wandering and independent Arab, and urge into activity the indolent and uninquisitive Copt. Under pretext of augmenting the produce of commerce and agriculture, all sorts of property, and the produce of every species of industry were laid at the mercy of the rapacious French, who, while in possession of all the land could afford, were yet in want of most necessaries, and who extended far and wide the reign of misery, without being able to rescue themselves from its oppressive grasp.

While,

While, to occupy the officers and soldiers, fortifications were ordered to be constructed at Salahieh, Balbies, Rosetta and Damietta, establishments were formed which gave employment to the numerous corps of *Savans* who attended the army. An institution was formed at Cairo on the model of that at Paris; a library was *collected from the plunder of those of Europe*; and a chemical laboratory was erected, as well for general purposes, as for the more peculiar motive of purifying saltpetre, to furnish the army with gunpowder. Hydraulic machines were constructed, and even established, to relieve the wants of the soldiery; nor was it forgotten to give them the means of drowning their cares, by extracting from the date a strong liquor, similar in its effects to brandy. These operations, except the structure of ovens, were more fitted to captivate the imagination than to satisfy the judgment. Libraries and laboratories, saltpetre and brandy, were slender consolations to men who saw their clothes perishing, without a possibility of their being restored, for no art was found to manufacture broadcloth; and the army began to fear that they were doomed to absolute nakedness. What comfort could the lectures of the National Institute, or the declamations of tragedians, some few hours presence

in an academy or at a play-house, afford to men, in whose minds curiosity was extinguished by distress, and to whose hearts no other sentiment could find its passage but an ardent and uncontrolable desire to revisit their native shores, from which they were destined, as they conceived, to hopeless exile?

In this state, nothing but eager exertion could prevent total languor; and, therefore, every circumstance which could excite inquiry, or afford a pretext for pompous exhibition, or which had an appearance of promoting science, or preserving a worthy memorial of the expedition, was eagerly embraced.

At the period of the inundation of the Nile, Buonaparte, with the accustomed pomp, made the cut in the dyke which conveys the water to Cairo; and the flow into the canal of Alexandria, presented an opportunity which was judiciously seized by Kleber, of transporting the artillery by water to Gizeh. General Andreossy sounded the Pelusian mouths of the Nile, the roads of Damietta, the Boghass, and Cape Boyau, as well as the Dibeh Mouth; entered the Lake Menzaleh, where he overcame the resistance of the Arabs, who opposed him with a hundred and thirty of the Egyptian craft, called *dgermes*; constructed

structed a map of the Lake, and measured with the chain the circumference of the coast, over an extent of forty-five thousand fathoms; determined the bearings of the islands; and discovered the ruins of Tinch, of the ancient Pelusium, and of Farama. Having performed this operation, he returned to Cairo; and speedily set out, attended by the *savan* Berthollet, to survey the Lakes of Natron, where he acquitted himself with the same diligence and success.

All the other *Savans* who accompanied Buonaparte were engaged in pursuits of greater or lesser importance, according to their powers: some ascertained points in geography, surveyed canals, and made drawings of buildings and monuments; others made collections and investigations for natural history, *constructed windmills, arranged almanacks*, and even composed a journal.

During these transactions, General Dessaix, in pursuance of the directions of Buonaparte, waged an active and prosperous war against Mourad Bey, in Upper Egypt; although his enterprize was as dangerous as his proceedings were sanguinary.

It is impossible to ascertain how far the people had been deceived by Buonaparte's hypocrisy, into an opinion that he was *the friend of their sovereign*,

and *a zealous proselyte* to their religion; but on the 21st October, 1798, immediately on the appearance of the *firman*, declaring him an enemy to the Porte, an insurrection broke out, though without any apparent plan or system of operation. The assembly of the people, their discourse, and their menaces, excited neither curiosity nor apprehension, till they began to attack and plunder the dwellings of the French. The principal meeting was before a mosque; and General Dupuy, advancing at the head of a small troop, to disperse them, was slain, with all his followers; a few French were killed in the streets; but on the beating of the *generale* the main body flew to arms; the streets were soon cleared; the people took refuge in their mosques, the doors of which Buonaparte ordered to be forced, and the buildings fired; an immense and indiscriminate slaughter followed; *friends* and *foes were alike exterminated*, to glut the vindictive fury of the republicans: the horrible illumination, occasioned by the burning of part of the city, the firing of artillery from the citadel, the screams and groans of people of all *classes, sexes, and ages, begging in vain for quarter*, and the furious shouts by which the French rallied and encouraged each other, formed a combination of horrors, which, in modern warfare, seldom occurs. Quarter was

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at last tartily and reluctantly granted by Buonaparte; the city recovered a gloomy tranquillity; but the most ferocious and rigorous measures were pursued for preventing future insurrections.

This event occurred before Buonaparte had made his survey of the Isthmus of Suez; and while he was engaged in that research, he learned that Dgezzar Pacha had seized and fortified the fort of El-Arish, and received such further intelligence as left him no longer in doubt of the hostile intentions of the Porte. Pursuing his accustomed policy, of assailing his opponents before they could become strong by union and formidable by preparation, Buonaparte arranged, without loss of time, a plan for attacking Dgezzar, setting apart for that purpose twelve thousand men, well supported with such artillery as could be transported according to exigency. He divided this force into five columns under Kleber, Regnier, Lasnes, Bon, and Murat; and having instructed his admiral, Perée, to embark heavy artillery on board three frigates for Jaffa, and taken precautions for securing the tranquillity of Cairo, prepared to head the expedition himself. Before his departure, hypocrisy, apostacy, atheism and fanaticism, were again resorted to, as political measures to keep the ignorant natives quiet and submissive. The inhabitants

tants of the capital, if not more loyal, had, since the late butchery, become more obedient to their new chief, who endeavoured to deceive and rule them by means of their prejudices, and for this purpose, not only recurred *to the doctrine of fatality*, but wished to *instil a belief of his immediate intercourse with the divinity*. In an address to the "Cherifs, Imans, and Orators of the Mosque," Buonaparte enjoined them to inculcate into the minds of the people, "that those who became his enemies *should find no refuge either in this world or the next.*"

"Is there a man so blind," says he, "as not to see that *all my operations are conducted by destiny?* Instruct the inhabitants, that ever since the world has existed, it was written, that after having overcome the enemies of Islamism, and *destroyed the Cross*, I should come from the furthest parts of the west to fulfil the task which has been imposed upon me. Make them see that in the second book of the Koran, in more than twenty passages, that which has happened was foreseen, and that which shall take place has also been explained: let those then, whom the fear of *our* arms alone prevents from pronouncing imprecations, now change their dispositions; for in offering prayers to Heaven against *us*, they solicit their own condemnation;

demnation; let the true believers then present vows for *our* success: *I could call to account each individual among you for the most secret sentiments of his heart; for I know every thing, even that which you never communicated to any person*; and the day will come when all the world shall witness, that, *as I act in consequence of orders from above*, human efforts are of no avail against me."

After this sacrilegious farce, he prepared to set out for Syria. In addition to the already mentioned generals, Daumartin was appointed to command the artillery, and General Caffarelli to superintend the engineers; after which he gave orders for the troops to commence their march.

On the 10th of February, 1799, Buonaparte left Cairo for El-Arish, which, notwithstanding the advantages of its situation, made but a feeble defence. Regnier and Kleber had taken the village, and blockaded the fort, before the arrival of Buonaparte, who, after a short cannonade, on the 25th following compelled the garrison to surrender, on condition of retiring to Bagdat and through the Desert. Having left Regnier's division to fortify and secure this conquest, which is considered the key of Egypt, the French marched through the Desert to attack Gaza. The Mamelukes constantly retreated before them; and the inhabi-

inhabitants of the city, on their approach, on the 28th, sent deputies to meet and offer them unmolested possession. This peaceful surrender was peculiarly fortunate for Buonaparte and his troops, whose convoys of provisions from Cathieh had not been able to keep up with him, as they found in Gaza sixteen thousand pounds of powder, a great quantity of cartouches and ammunition, and some artillery, besides a hundred thousand rations of biscuit, rice, tents, and a large supply of barley. Buonaparte spent two days in the civil and military organization, as he called it, of the place, forming a divan of the principal inhabitants; and then prosecuted his route towards Jaffa.

The way to this town, anciently called Jappa, is across an immense plain, covered with hillocks of moving sand, which the cavalry traversed with difficulty; and the camels slowly and painfully proceeded, and for about three leagues it was necessary to treble the teams to the artillery. Hordes of Arabs hovered around the army, without, however, doing any injury; and the advanced guard under Kleber reached the town on the third day.

Jaffa was found to be surrounded with a wall without ditches, flanked by good towers mounting cannon. Two forts defended the port and the

the road, and it appeared well armed. The garrison, having retired within the place, the main attack was made on the south side. The whole army having come up, and batteries being established, a practicable breach was soon effected, and on the 7th of March the town was taken by assault.

As the efforts of impudence, and sophistry of rebellion, have been employed in indirect denials or futile palliations, of the many atrocious deeds committed by Buonaparte in this city and in its neighbourhood, an extract from the work of an author as able as loyal, as instructive as an historian as brave and distinguished as a warrior, will silence the factious, convince the dubious, and exhibit to present and future ages in his true character, a man who, to the eternal disgrace of the French nation, after murdering, drowning, and poisoning several thousand French soldiers and citizens, is suffered to remain the cruel unrestrained tyrant over thirty millions of Frenchmen.

"General Hutchinson was very angry with the Turks for still continuing the practice of mangling and cutting off the heads of the prisoners; and the Captain Pacha, at his remonstrance, issued again very severe orders against it; but

but the Turks justified themselves for the massacre of the French by the massacre at Jaffa. As this act, and the poisoning of the sick have never been credited, because of such enormities being so incredibly atrocious, a digression to authenticate them may not be deemed intrusively tedious; and had not the influence of power interfered, the act of accusation would have been preferred in a more solemn manner, and the damning proofs produced by penitent agents of these murders; but neither menaces, recompense, nor promises, can altogether stifle the cries of outraged humanity, and the day for retribution of justice is only delayed.

"Buonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives; and let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian army, this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy of which

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the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you!

"Three days afterwards Buonaparte, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners*, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa; where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Vollies of musquetry and grape instantly played against them; and Buonaparte, who had been

* "Buonaparte had in person inspected previously the whole body, amounting to near five thousand men, with the object of seeing those who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran Janissary attracted his observation, and he asked him sharply, 'Old man, what did you do here?' The Janissary, undaunted, replied, 'I must answer that question by asking you the same; your answer will be, that you came to serve your Sultan; so did I mine.' The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. Buonaparte even smiled—'He is saved,' whispered some of the aids-de-camp. 'You know not Buonaparte,' observed one who had served with him in Italy—'that smile, I speak from experience, does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence; remember what I say.' The opinion was too true. The Janissary was left in the ranks, doomed to death, and suffered."

regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval; indeed, he had just reason to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officer of the Etat Major who commanded (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent), even refused to execute the order without a written instruction: but Buonaparte was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

"When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded, but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and probably many languished days in agony. Several French officers, by whom partly these details are furnished, declared that this was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty.

"These were the prisoners whom Assalini, in his very able work on the Plague, alludes to, when he says that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was

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their putrifying remains which produced the pestilential malady, which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army.

"Their bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

"Such a fact should not, however, be alledged without some proof, or leading circumstance stronger than assertion, being produced to support it; but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy, for obeying a command when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution; therefore to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was Bonn's division which fired, and thus every one is afforded an opportunity of satisfying themselves respecting the truth, by inquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.

"The next circumstance is of a nature which requires indeed the most particular details to establish, since the idea can scarce be entertained, that the commander of an army should order his own

countrymen (or if not immediately such, those amongst whom he had been naturalized), to be deprived of existence, when in a state which required the kindest consideration. But the annals of France record the frightful crimes of a Robespierre, a Carriere, and historical truth must now recite one equal to any which has blackened its page.

"Buonaparte finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which from weighty reasons cannot be here inserted: on his arrival he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, concluding at last with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital was the only measure which could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder: but finding that Buonaparte persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: 'Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become

come a human butcher; and, General, if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them.'

" Buonaparte was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations; he persevered, and found an apothecary who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick. Opium at night was distributed in gratifying food, the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted, and in a few hours five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably by the order of its idol.

" Is there a Frenchman whose blood does not chill with horror at the recital of such a fact? Surely the manes of these murdered unoffending people must be now hovering round the seat of government, and .....

" If a doubt should still exist as to the veracity of this statement, let the Members of the Institute at Cairo be asked what passed in their sitting after the return of Buonaparte from Syria: they will relate, that the same virtuous physician who refused to become the destroyer of those com-

mitted to his protection, accused Buonaparte of high treason in the full assembly, against the honour of France, her children, and humanity; that he entered into the full details of the poisoning of the sick, and the massacre of the garrison, aggravating these crimes by charging Buonaparte with strangling previously, at Rosetta, a number of French and Copts, who were ill of the plague; thus proving, that this disposal of his sick was a premeditated plan, which he wished to introduce into general practice *. In vain Buonaparte attempted to justify himself, the members sat petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before their eyes was not illusion. Assuredly all these proceedings will not be found in the minutes of the Institute; nor

* "Buonaparte pleaded that he ordered the garrison to be destroyed, because he had not provisions to maintain them, or strength enough to guard them; and that it was evident if they escaped, they would act against the French, since among the prisoners were five hundred of the garrison of El-Arish, who had promised not to serve again (they had been compelled in passing through Jaffa by the commandant to serve); and that he destroyed the sick to prevent contagion, and save themselves from falling into the hands of the Turks; but these arguments, however specious, were refuted directly, and Buonaparte was at last obliged to rest his defence on the positions of Machiavel. When he afterwards left Egypt, the Savans were so angry at being left behind, contrary to promise, that they elected the physician President of the Institute, in all which spoke for itself."

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Buonaparte's policy foresaw the danger, and power produced the erasure. But let no man, calculating on the force of circumstances which may prevent such an avowal as is solicited, presume on this to deny the whole; there are records which remain, and which in due season will be produced. In the interim, this representation will be sufficient to stimulate inquiry; and, Frenchmen, your honour is indeed interested in the examination.

"Let us hope also, that in no country will there be found another man of such Machiavelian principles, as by sophistry to palliate those transactions; nor must the judgment abuse itself by bringing to recollection the horrors of the French Revolution, and thus diminishing the force of those crimes by the frequency of equal guilt in France, during her contest for *Liberty or Slavery* *."

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* "An anecdote, after what has been said against, should, however, be related, as a proof of the commanding genius of Buonaparte, and will be told as repeated by a Frenchman of high consideration. 'Buonaparte, notwithstanding his successes and fame, was considered by those who knew him best, as not in himself possessing the great qualities ascribed to him. We regarded him as indebted more to an extraordinary peculiar good fortune, forcing irresistible circumstances to his advantage, than to his own abili-

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Besides these detestable barbarities, the stay of the French at Jaffa was distinguished by their accustomed violence and rapacity; the pillage of the natives was so complete, that even women and

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ties and exertions. After his disasters and repulse at Acre, our opinion was confirmed, and we expected to see him return dejected, conscious of disgrace, his shame aggravated by the retollection of having sent a messenger with a dispatch, and which was read in the Institute, in which he expressed himself, "In three days I shall be in Acre; when you open this, be assured that Dgezzar Pacha is no more."—The day before he entered Cairo, we received orders, to our astonishment, to prepare illuminations, triumphal arches, &c. for honour to the conquerors of Syria, and of Dgezzar Pacha. The troops, who had despondingly anticipated a different reception, whose murmurs against the man who had planned their expedition amounted to mutiny, whose expressions even menaced death to him as an atonement for their seven thousand comrades who had perished, saw with surprize the honours paid to them; heard their chief and themselves stiled conquerors; and in the delirium of vanity, forgot their injuries and defeats. The next morning Buonaparte, assured of the intoxication still continuing, assembled his army on parade, distributed rewards, then moved forwards a battalion of grenadiers, whom he upbraided with having refused to make another assault on Acre, and sentenced them to carry their arms slung behind till their character was retrieved. It was then, said the narrator, we pronounced Buonaparte really a great man. We confessed his knowledge of human nature, who in a few hours could so improve his situation, and reassume his influence, as to disgrace those very men, who the day before would, with the applause of their comrades (now approving of their dishonour) had he uttered a word of censure have instantly assassinated him."

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little children were robbed of the few ornaments they carried about them, consisting of coins, such as paras, sequins, and piasters. The artillery found in the place consisted of forty pieces of cannon, being the field equipage given to Dgezzar by the Grand Signor, and twenty iron and brass guns mounted on the walls. Orders were immediately expedited to Alexandria for Perée to sail for Jaffa, which was intended to be the port and entrepôt of all articles to be received from Damietta and Alexandria. A government, with a divan, was speedily organized, and the command of the place consigned to Adjutant-General Grenier, who was afterwards carried off by the plague.

Preparatory to his march for St. Jean d'Acre, Bonaparte endeavoured to terrify or cajole Dgezzar Pacha by an hypocritical letter, in which he affirmed that *he had treated with generosity* such troops as surrendered at discretion, though *he had been severe* towards those who violated the rights of war, and promised, that as God granted him victory, he would, *like him, be merciful*, not only *towards the people* but *towards the great*. He recommended to Dgezzar to abstain from resistance, to become the friend of the French and the enemy of the Mamelukes and the English; and in

reward he should be taken *into favour* and *experience more good* than he had previously met with evil."

This gross deceit was too clumsy to deceive even the most unsuspicious of men, with the testimony of damning and recent facts, to prove how far every sentiment of honour, mercy, or clemency was from the heart of the writer. Djezzar sent only a brief verbal answer, implying that he would rather bury himself in the ruins of Acre, than suffer it to fall into the hands of Buonaparte. In expressing this resolution, he was encouraged not only by his own force and the assistance of the Porte, but by the unexpected aid of the genius, judgment and valour of a British Captain and a French Royalist Officer of Engineers; who were destined to revive in a remote century those exploits, which, in the days of chivalry, had rendered St. Jean d'Acre the theme of so much wonder and celebrity. Sir W. Sidney Smith, after attaining the rank of Post-Captain in the British Navy, had, in 1789, when his country was in peace, offered his services to the King of Sweden, then at war with Russia, and conducted himself with such distinguished bravery during several actions with the Russian fleet, that

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the Grand Cross of the Military Order of the Sword was conferred upon him by Gustavus III. and he became the worthy *chevalier* of a great king, justly called *le Chevalier des Rois*. The war with France soon after, made him as remarkable for his courage as for his talents and activity; and it was to his care that Lord Hood entrusted the patriotic but difficult destruction of the fleet in the port of Toulon.

Become a prisoner to the French in consequence of an exertion of personal bravery in the port of Havre, he was, contrary to the laws of war and of civilized nations, by the orders of the infamous republican government, immured within the walls of the same Temple where, before and since 1792, so much virtue and loyalty had suffered; and every attempt for his exchange or enlargement rejected. At length, however, the gates were thrown open by friendship, his liberty procured, and his return to England facilitated, by means that favour of romance rather than of history.

Received with applause and admiration by all his loyal countrymen, and with approbation and benevolence by his King, he was appointed to the command of a small squadron, with which he, as commodore, repaired to Constantinople. He, in conjunction with his brother, then British minister

minister there, formed a treaty of alliance with the Ottoman Porte; and, after generously procuring the liberation of a number of French prisoners, repaired to Egypt. While a Turkish army was preparing to sail for the East, he endeavoured to defer the expedition to Syria by bombarding Alexandria; and when he found that the army was preparing to cross the Desert, his friend Philipeaux was sent to the assistance of the intimidated Dgezzar Pacha.

This officer is the same already mentioned, as bred in the same college with Buonaparte, the friend of his youth, the companion of his studies and of his amusements. Attached to the monarchy from principles, and to the religion of his ancestors from conviction, on the annihilation of the throne, and on the proscription of Christianity, he appeared in arms in favour of his prince against the regicides and rebels, who, under the appellation of republicans, tyrannized over his wretched countrymen. It was he, who, at the risk of his life, had rescued Sir Sidney Smith from bondage, and restored him to his country. After accompanying him to the Levant with the rank of a colonel in the British service, he had been sent into Syria, and had employed all his talents as an able engineer in fortifying Acre, so as to resist the efforts

efforts of his former school-fellow, who had by crimes, by fortune, and by some capacity, become a renowned and dreaded general.

The Commodore, who had arrived but two days before the French, although perceiving the works not in a very formidable state of defence, contributed, along with Philipeaux, to soothe the fears, and to encourage the hopes of the Pacha, who, on seeing the enemy victorious every where, had determined to abandon his palace, and seek for safety with his women and treasures in a more distant situation; but, no sooner did he observe that he was so ably supported, than Dgezzar determined to stand a siege, and participate in the glory of stopping the career of the guilty and audacious Corsican adventurer.

Nor was he mistaken either in respect to the industry or the talents of his new allies; for the English squadron, in the course of the next day, discovered, in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, a corvette and nine sail of gun-boats, laden with artillery and ammunition, intended to assist in the reduction of Acre. Seven vessels belonging to this flotilla, containing the greatest part of the battering train, were captured: and this fortunate incident contributed much to save the city, as well as to harass the invaders; for the prizes, being

ing manned with British sailors, were anchored near the town, and employed in impeding the enemy's approaches, while the cannon were mounted on the ramparts, so as to annoy that army for which they were intended to ensure a boasted and certain triumph.

On leaving Jaffa the French army, after some slight opposition, reached Caiffa, which the people abandoned, carrying away the artillery and ammunition of the fort, and proceeded to St. Jean d'Acre. Having secured provisions, and determined all the necessary previous points, vigorous exertions were made for carrying on the siege: but in this attempt the French were no longer to be encountered by an ignorant adversary, the dupe of every *ruse de guerre*, and whose very valour was more injurious to him than cowardice could have been; but by a brave though fierce body, led to constant exertion, and trained to the useful operations of discipline, by men of equal courage, greater prudence, and consummate skill. Unapprized of these circumstances, the French expected an easy conquest; and pressed forward to an assault, in hopes again to enjoy sanguinary triumph over an unequal foe.

The relation of all the particulars of this memorable siege demands too great a length to find

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its place here; but suffice it to say, that numerous acts of temerity, despair, treachery, and cruelty, exhibited by Buonaparte and his satellites, were encountered and defeated by the bravery, ability, constancy, and generosity of the British Commodore and the British and allied troops under his command and disposal.

Buonaparte continued for sixty days, without interruption, to attack, bombard, or assault Acre, though after a siege of six weeks he was obliged to alter the manner of attacking it. At this time the garrison, invigorated by the presence of the English, and defended by the skill of Sir Sidney and Philipeaux (who unfortunately died soon afterwards by the bursting of a blood vessel), had erected cavaliers, and constructed two places of arms, together with batteries so contrived as to flank the tower, and produce all the advantages arising from a cross fire; a counter-attack was also attempted under ground, on purpose to drive the besiegers from their galleries.

Sir Sidney Smith, in a letter addressed to the Admiralty at this period, expresses himself as follows: "We have the satisfaction of finding ourselves, on the forty-sixth day of the siege, in a better state of defence than we were the first day; the enemy opened their trenches, notwithstanding

the increase of the breach, which they continue to batter with effect; and the garrison, having occasionally closed with the enemy in several sorties, feel greater confidence that they shall be able to resist an assault, for which they are prepared." Had the combined powers acted with the same valour vigour and determination when besieged in Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Germany and Italy, there can be little doubt but that the political monster of a French Republic would have been confined within the limits of the French Monarchy, and Europe would have been yet free.

It was after the arrival of Admiral Perée at Jaffa, with some heavy artillery, that Buonaparte gave orders to change the plan of operations, and effect a new breach in the eastern courtain, by means of a sap and a mine, which was to blow up the counterscarp; but the enemy not only discovered his intentions, but by making approaches under ground, entered the gallery, destroyed the frame work, and counteracted all the operations, and this new attempt, guided rather by disappointed desperation than by sound judgment, was therefore completely ineffectual.

About the same time a squadron of more than thirty sail of transports and corvettes, under Has-

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san Bey, was seen standing in for Acre. Buonaparte knowing that the landing of fresh troops would be productive of great disadvantage to the besiegers, determined to anticipate the event by a new and still more desperate trial to storm the place, and though exposed to a heavy fire from the gun-boats, made a lodgment on the second story of the north-east tower, on the outer angle of which the republican standard was hoisted. The fire of the besieged had slackened, and the reinforcements were only half-way towards the shore. The breach was feebly defended; and this was the *critical moment* of the siege. At this juncture Sir Sidney Smith landed two boats at the Mole, and hastily arming the crews, led them to the breach. The Turks, animated by this unexpected supply, flocked to the point of danger, where the besiegers were contesting on equal terms with the defenders of the town, the muzzles of their muskets were in contact, and the spear-heads of the colours locked in each other.

The conduct of the English upon this, as other occasions, fully entitled them to the gratitude of their allies, and to the admiration of a more generous foe. Djezzar, who, according to the custom of his nation, was sitting in a conspicuous place, rewarding those who brought him the

heads of enemies, and distributing supplies of ammunition, rushed to the breach, and exhibited the unprecedented sight of a Turkish chieftain exhorting christian soldiers to retire from the post of danger, as in them he should lose his best defenders. The general enthusiasm prevalent under these circumstances, decided the fate of the day; the French were kept in check until reinforcements were landed: oriental jealousy gave way to the sense of peril; a well disciplined regiment, the Chiffleck, disciplined under Sultan Selim's own eye, was admitted into the gardens of the Seraglio, made a sortie, and although the Turks were repulsed, the besiegers being obliged to expose themselves above their parapets, were mowed down in great numbers by the flanking fire of the garrison; their force at the breach was diminished, and the small number remaining on the lodgement, were killed or dispersed.

During this tremendous conflict, Buonaparte, surrounded by his generals and aide-de-camps, and burning with rage and shame, had placed himself on an eminence, called Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount, and already rendered famous by the exploits of this British Hero; his gesticulations, and the mission of an aid-de-camp to the main body of his forces, indicated a resolution to renew

renew the attack. Accordingly, a little before sun-set, a massive column was descried descending to the breach, which was not wide enough to admit fifty men abreast. On this occasion, a stratagem of war, adopted at the instance of the Pacha, proved highly successful. This French column, which advanced to the attack, was suffered to mount the breach without molestation. On their descent into the Pacha's garden, the foremost were encountered by the Turks, who lay in ambuscade, and where combined tactics could not avail, the republican bayonet was exerted in vain against the Turkish scimitar and dagger, wielded in the right and left hand with equal force and dexterity. The column was repulsed; it was in vain that General Lasnes attempted to rally the fugitives, for he himself was wounded by a musket-shot near the wall, while Rambaud perished in the city, of which he vainly imagined that he had obtained possession.

A few days after this, with a zeal expressive of temerity and cruelty rather than of true courage, Buonaparte ordered a new assault to be made; but the troops selected for the occasion, having to mount the fatal breach over the putrid bodies of their unburied countrymen, refused to stain themselves with this new outrage to humanity. On hearing this,

this, the grenadiers of the twenty-first demi-brigade solicited and obtained the honour of storming the place: on advancing for this purpose, it was discovered, however, that the enemy had completed three lines of defence, which it became impossible to carry; so that, after an useless massacre, in the course of which General Bonn, Adjutant-General Fowler, and one of Buonaparte's aides-de-camp, were killed, and several officers severely wounded, a retreat was beaten, and the discomfited volunteers returned to the camp.

In proportion as the troops relaxed in their ardour, and the capture of Acre became dubious, chagrin, despair, and ferocity began to be visible in the face and actions of Buonaparte, who, hitherto the spoiled child of fortune, for the first time in his life beheld himself foiled, and that too by a town *scarcely defensible according to the rules of art*; while the surrounding hills were crowded by a multitude of armed spectators, who waited the result of the contest on purpose to declare for the victor. Convinced that the supposed invincibility of the French was not real, these people easily yielded to the invitation of Sir Sidney Smith, and preferred a union with "a Christian Knight, to the friendship of an unprincipled renegado." The dispatched ambassadors declared

clared their resolution to arrest all mountaineers who should be discovered transporting ammunition or provisions to the French camp, and as a pledge of their sincerity, sent in four-score individuals whom they had taken in such attempt. This determination prevented the further progress of Buonaparte to the northward, and at the same time he received intelligence from Cairo, that several provinces were in insurrection, that Gizeh was invaded by a wandering Arabian tribe from the heart of Africa; and that an impostor, calling himself the angel El Mahdi, announced in the Koran, had gained numerous adherents, and carried several posts.

To barter honour for success, was no new traffic with Buonaparte, and on this occasion he made an attempt of the most odious and dishonourable kind, to gain the long contested town. The dead bodies over which he had made his last assault becoming putrid, generated diseases and even the plague in the camp. Employing an Arabian dervise as a flag of truce, Berthier, in the name of the commander in chief addressed a letter to Dgezzar, desiring a suspension of arms till the dead could be buried, and the establishment of an exchange of prisoners effected. While this message was under consideration, and the flag of

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truce waiting for the answer, Buonaparte, in defiance of all laws of justice and humanity, and *to the everlasting disgrace of the name of soldier*, commenced an assault, hoping to take the town by surprize. Fortunately, however, the garrison was on its guard; and this act of desperate treachery met its due reward in defeat and disgrace. Sir Sidney Smith with difficulty rescued the dervise from the fury of those who considered him a voluntary instrument in the treason which had been committed, and gained a full and delicious revenge, by sending him back to Buonaparte with a letter of reproof, which overwhelmed him and his army with shame*.

Foiled!

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* 'THE GENERAL IN CHIEF TO THE CHIEF OF THE ETAT MAJOR GENERAL.

'The Commander of the English Squadron before Acre having had the barbarity to embark on board a vessel which was infected with the plague the French prisoners made in the two Tartans laden with ammunition, which he took near Caiffa; having been remarked at the head of the barbarians, in the sortie which took place on the 18th, and the English flag having been at the same time flying over many towers in the place, the barbarous conduct which the besieged displayed in cutting off the heads of two volunteers which were killed, must be attributed to the English Commander, a conduct which is very opposite to the honours which have been paid to English officers and soldiers found upon the field of battle, and to the attentions which have been shown to wounded and to prisoners.

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Foiled in this foul and disgraceful attempt, Buonaparte found himself obliged to retreat, and instead

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"The English being those who defend and provision Acre, the horrible conduct of Dgezzar, who caused to be strangled and thrown into water, with their hands tied behind their backs, more than two hundred Christians, inhabitants of this country, among whom was the secretary of a French consul, must be equally attributed to this officer, since from circumstances the Pacha found himself entirely dependent upon him.

"This officer having besides refused to execute any of the articles of exchange established between the two powers, and his proposals in all the communications which have taken place, and his conduct since the time that he has been cruizing here, having been those of a madman; my desire is, that you order the different commanders on the coast to give up all communication with the English fleet actually cruizing in these seas.

(Signed) 'BUONAPARTE.'

"Such accusations many perhaps will think too contemptible to be noticed; but there are others who, infatuated with Buonaparte, might find in silence grounds for recrimination. I therefore shall briefly observe, first as to the massacre of the Christians, that Dgezzar Pacha, previous to the disembarkation of any individual from the English ships, caused thirty men in the French interest to be strangled, foreseeing that resistance would be made to the act, if not perpetrated before Sir Sidney's landing; that the embarkation of the prisoners in vessels infected with the plague is a ludicrous charge, for would Sir Sidney, in that case, have placed an English guard on board over them? So contrary, however, is the fact, that some French sick embarked afterwards at Jaffa, for Damietta, in eight or ten Tartans, having heard of the kind treatment their comrades experienced, stood out to the Tigre, then cruizing off, and surrendered themselves. The charge about cutting off the heads of dead men is frivolous; besides, how could

Sir

instead of returning as a conqueror, retire like a fugitive. His last efforts were worthy of him; *they were dedicated to revenge.* No longer hoping to gain the town, he *bravely destroyed the aqueduct*, bombarded the principal buildings, and used his utmost endeavours to reduce the palace of Dgezzar to a heap of ruins. After a siege from the 20th of March to the 21st of May, conducted with treachery and atrocity, without advantage, and concluded without honour, Buonaparte commenced his retreat. His artillery and wounded, whom he had no time to poison, were embarked in country vessels, to be conveyed coastwise to Jaffa; but Sir Sidney Smith placing himself be-

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Sir Sidney, in his situation, abolish the practice? and it is urged with some effrontery by the man who a short time before butchered in cold blood near 4000 Turks. The abusive part is too low to be noticed, but I will exalt the victorious adversary of Buonaparte even higher than his character has yet reached, by relating, that when Sir Sidney found the French had raised the siege of Acre, he instantly sailed for Jaffa, off which place he stood close into the shore, and saw a body of the enemy filing into the town. Immediately he cannonaded what he supposed was an enemy, and his shot evidently did considerable execution: at last by his glass he perceived that the column he was attacking consisted only of wounded and sick men riding on camels, almost all of the soldiers having bandages on some of their limbs, when he directly ordered the firing to cease, and allowed the whole convoy to pass on unmolested:—a trait which must procure for him the gratitude of Frenchmen, and the love of his own countrymen."

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tween that place and Damietta, the crews destitute of all necessaries, even of provisions and water, steered directly towards the British fleet, relying on the honour and humanity of the English Commander, and execrating and deploring the want of those qualities in their own.

Previously to his retreat, Buonaparte addressed to his troops a proclamation filled with futile boasts, false assertions, and delusive consolations. He *complimented* them for having traversed the Desert, which separates Asia from Africa, with more rapidity than an army of Arabs; destroyed the army intended for the invasion of Egypt; frustrated an intended attack on Alexandria; and, though but a handful of men, carried on the war for three months in the heart of Syria. "You have taken," said he, "forty field-pieces, fifty standards, and six thousand prisoners; *razed* the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa, *and Acre. In a few days* you might have *hoped* to take the Pacha in the midst of his palace; but, at this season, *the capture of the castle of Acre is not worth the loss even of a few days*; besides, the brave men whom I must lose in the exploit, are wanted for more essential operations." These boasts, with the vengeance of *burning* villages and harvests, and *shooting the Naplusians whom he took prisoners,*

were the only consolations of Buonaparte during his march. Such was the close of an expedition, the success of which Buonaparte had anticipated with a profane threat, that furnishes the world with a curious specimen of the *piety* of the most Christian Consul, Ali Buonaparte. The priests at Jerusalem told several British travellers that Buonaparte had said, that should he ever obtain possession of JERUSALEM, *he would plant the* TREE OF LIBERTY *on the* SPOT *on which the* CROSS *of* JESUS *stood*, and would BURY *the first* FRENCH GRENADIER *who should fall in the attack, in the* TOMB *of our* BLESSED SAVIOUR!!!

His approach to Cairo was a moment of anxiety and apprehension, embarrassed with dangers which required all his audacity to face, and all his cunning and fortune to avert. In a boastful letter, which was read in the Institute, he had used these expressions: "In three days I shall be at Acre; *when you open this, be assured that Djezzar Pacha is no more.*" Nothing was left for him but to veil his *disgrace* under the appearance of *triumph*, and assume the deportment, not of a *leader* returning *discomfited* and *disappointed*, but of a *real conqueror*. Orders were accordingly dispatched to the government at Cairo to prepare illuminations, triumphal arches, and a festival for the

the *Conquerors of Syria* and *of Dgezzar Pacha.* The troops, who had despondingly anticipated a different reception, whose murmurs against the man who had planned their expedition amounted to mutiny, whose expressions even menaced death to him, as an atonement for their seven thousand comrades who had perished, saw with surprize the honours paid to them; heard their chief and themselves styled conquerors; and, in the delirium of vanity, forgot their injuries and defeats. The next morning Buonaparte, assured of the intoxication still continuing, assembled the remnants of his army on parade, distributed rewards, then moved forward a battalion of grenadiers, whom he upbraided with having refused to make another assault on Acre, and sentenced them to carry their arms slung behind till their characters were retrieved. This extraordinary stroke of policy converted many of Buonaparte's detractors into admirers. They confessed his knowledge of the nature and character of French slaves, when in a few hours, he could so improve his situation and re-assume his influence as to disgrace those very men, who the day before would, with the applause of their comrades, who now approved of their dishonour, had he uttered a word of censure, have instantly assassinated him.

From this period until the time when he added desertion to his other crimes, Dessaix continued victorious in Upper Egypt, and Buonaparte himself defeated eight thousand Turks who had captured Aboukir, of whom, although 2000 were saved, with his usual veracity he declared in his reports the number of killed and drowned amounted to seventeen thousand men. This atchievement terminated the military exploits of Buonaparte in Egypt. The effrontery and ascendancy of his character, the celebrity of his name, and dextrous application of his talents to the purpose of maintaining his authority, were insufficient to prevent the formation of a formidable party in his own army, who were dissatisfied at seeing the honour of France tarnished by his wanton barbarities, while the troops seemed doomed to be sacrificed to the pursuit of a conquest which would never be thoroughly atchieved, since every new success led only to the formation of more extravagant and diffusive designs. It has already been said, that on Buonaparte's return from Syria, the physician who had refused to administer poison, accused the general in full assembly of the Institute of treason against the honour of France, her children and humanity. The spirit of inquiry and resistance thus disclosed, and a conviction derived

rived from the conduct of the troops at Acre, that a time might come, when his commands would not be sufficient to secure general obedience, powerfully stimulated him to the accomplishment of the wishes he had always entertained of returning to France. To these motives were added, others arising from intelligence he had received of the victorious progress of the allies in Italy, which totally destroyed all hopes of succours from France for the army in Egypt. When Buonaparte had fully resolved to quit his deluded comrades, whom he so often and so solemnly had promised never to leave before he carried them back again to France, he prepared for the execution of his projects with the utmost secrecy, knowing that the slightest suspicion of this design must have proved fatal to him. He ordered Rear-admiral Gantheaume to equip and keep in readiness for sailing, the frigates which remained in his possession, and to give notice the moment the combined British and Turkish squadron should quit the coast. The desired intelligence reached the General the 18th of August, at six o'clock in the evening: at nine he dispatched orders to those who were to share in the dishonour of his desertion, and to accompany his flight, to hold themselves in readiness to set out at midnight to attend him on a tour

in Lower Egypt. They were to meet him on the beach; and each was furnished with sealed instructions, not to be opened till the moment of rendezvous.

Gantheaume had stationed in the road, at the distance of a league from the shore, two frigates, and Buonaparte having secured the military chest, and sealed orders for General Kleber, repaired on shipboard, attended by a few confidential followers, leaving the army enraged, surprized and despondent, to lament the miseries of their situation, and the perfidy of their chief. His voyage was at first retarded by contrary winds, and was considerably lengthened by the necessity of steering close to the coast of Africa, which was considered as most likely to be out of the tract of any European vessels, and least exposed to the dangers of pursuit. At length, however, they reached the port of Ajaccio in Corsica; and shortly afterwards Buonaparte landed near Frejus, in Provence.

The next events which attended Buonaparte would seem as if Fortune, in the utmost capriciousness of her reputed divinity, had endeavoured to exhibit to the world a splendid and extraordinary specimen of her power, to elevate a guilty individual in defiance of circumstances and in contempt of merit. It can scarcely be supposed possible,

possible, that a general abandoning his army without even a pretext of orders, without the means of apprizing government of his views, and without any strong party in the state formed to favour him, should escape severe animadversion, or avoid personal degradation, if not punishment; but, at this period, so abject was the domestic situation of France, that the government, possessing neither power, ability, virtue nor popularity, appeared to await with stupid resignation the new revolution, which should terminate its too protracted existence; while individuals were endeavouring, with clumsy exertions, only to avert the weight of ruin from themselves, and establish such a character of comparative innocence, as would enable them to retreat in safety from the approaching storm.

While the detestation of the Directory was general, accusations, recriminations and denunciations, occupied much of the time and of the debates in the two Councils. Jacobin clubs were already established at Paris and in many of the departments. The blood-suckers and terrorists of Robespierre and of his accomplices came forward from their hiding holes, and provoked laws of barbarous severity against seditious movements, and the tyrannical enforcement of decrees for a forced

forced loan and levy of conscripts. The torch of civil war was again lighted in many departments, particularly those in the south and western parts of the French Republic. A sense of the inability of government to surmount these disasters was universally prevalent; and General Jourdan, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, had actually proposed a decree for declaring the country in danger, in the same manner as it had been decreed after the 10th of August, 1792, and which had been the indirect cause and the direct excuse for all the crimes and horrors committed during the reign of the National Convention.

One of the directors, Sieyes, was labouring, with endeavours which could scarcely be termed covert, for the overthrow of the government; he was secretly assisted by Talleyrand, whom the Jacobins had lately forced to resign his place of Minister for the Foreign Department. The exact views of these crafty intriguers cannot be developed; but it is clear that their past crimes, and a hatred to the right heir to the crown on the one hand, and a fear of the jacobins, whom they had mortally offended, and therefore feared, on the other, would impel them to avoid the re-establishment of royalty, or the alteration of the existing

existing system to a form favourable to the ferocious band of republicans. Strength as well as firmness was evidently wanting to the executive power; and that could only be given by a dictator or protectorship, residing in one individual, not embarrassed by councils, who had shewn, that they knew neither how to use nor to restrain authority, with whom faction was every thing, and virtue and liberty nothing.

Such is a true, though imperfect picture of the internal situation of the French commonwealth; but if it was dreadful, the external actions and transactions of the French government, and its generals and troops, were as contemptible, dishonourable and disastrous. The Congress at Rastadt had proved to all the world, the bad faith, the dangerous pretensions, and the ambitious views of the Directory; and the victories of the allies in Germany and Italy were convincing evidences of the weakness, disaffection or disorganization of the republican armies. The people, therefore, when fortune lauded Buonaparte in France, far from inquiring into the causes of his past conduct, were happy to suppose that he brought the means of terminating their present misfortunes and disgraces; they flattered themselves that their destinies were in his hands, and

and that the success which had formerly attended his banner in Italy, would again be extended over the whole country. His arrival in Paris was therefore hailed as a great national deliverance, and he became the centre of those intrigues which seemed to receive their final sanction and guarantee from the addition of his name. The two Councils prostrated themselves at his feet, and gave a splendid and solemn banquet in honour of his return, in the church of St. Sulpice, called since the Revolution, the Temple of Victory. At this fête the Directory and the members of both Councils attended; but, although the efforts of art and taste were exhausted in rendering the scene illustrious and agreeable, and the fraternal banquet sumptuous and animating, the general aspect of the guests was replete with constraint and embarrassment. Suspicions prevailed on all sides; the machinations for the new overthrow of the Government and Constitution were ready to be carried into execution; Buonaparte appeared only for a moment in the hall, and retired, impressed, perhaps, with the fear which was never afterwards absent from his mind, that in some morsel or some goblet, to be presented by the hand of treachery or vengeance, he might swallow his death.

At length, three days after this fête, which, to please

please a new-converted Mussulman, had profaned a Christian church, and since many secret interviews had taken place with Sieyes, Talleyrand, Fouché, Volney, Rœderer and other conspirators, Buonaparte determined to bury the Directorial Constitution amongst the ruins of the four former ones, which, since the Revolution, had made France wretched, and troubled Europe, and to create from their rubbish a code of government, which his bayonets should proclaim, his bayonets enforce, and his bayonets protect or change according to his whim, passion or caprice. To atchieve this, it became indispensably necessary to remove the scenes of action from Paris, where both the loyal adherents to monarchy and religion, and the guilty partisans of a Revolution that had annihilated the throne with the altar, were still numerous and powerful. The leading members of the Council of Ancients were therefore gained; and to conceal the real plot, a suppositious one was feigned, in consequence of which the Legislature assembled at St. Cloud. An attempt was then made to seduce the Council of Five Hundred, but, as the majority proved refractory, the Corsican Buonaparte, imitating the conduct of the English Cromwell, when he dissolved the long parliament, and overturned that commonwealth,

wealth, which he had sworn to preserve, recurred to violence; the representatives of the French people were driven from their seats by the deluded soldiers of a foreigner; three consuls were substituted in the place of a directory of five, a ridiculous Senate, an enslaved Legislative Body, and a mock Tribunate, succeeded the Councils of Ancients and of Five Hundred.

Before this usurpation was effected, he had as much flattered all parties, as he has afterwards deceived them. By his known connexions with Sieyes and Volney, the republicans hoped for what he, *the day before the Revolution*, had so solemnly promised, "a Republic founded on true liberty, on civil liberty, on equality, and on national representation." His intimacy with Talleyrand and Rœderer, and the hints he threw out, caused the constitutional royalists to hope for a revival of a constitutional monarchy; whilst his past transactions at Toulon in 1793, and at Paris in 1795, and his present consultations with Fouché de Nantes and other notorious terrorists, made the jacobins believe in the re-establishment of the anarchical conventional code of the year 2, and the return of the reign of terror. He therefore experienced but little resistance even from the jacobins, who otherwise, on all occasions, have exhi-

exhibited more energy and determination than the rebels of other factions.

But, if General Buonaparte had imposed upon them all, the First Consul tried to reconcile them by an equal distribution of places and lucrative employments, and by mixing in the same Senate and Councils, the royalist and the demagogue; the aristocrat and the democrat; the republican and the terrorist; the moderate and passive admirer of the Revolution, and the extravagant, desperate and active jacobin. Sieyes has said more than once, that the whole revolution, or, rather, revolutions, have been nothing but a continual change of places, and that ambition, plots, and intrigues for places, have been the first and only movers of French patriotism; the only wish and call for a liberty equally proscribed by all the heroes of the different revolutions for these last fourteen years. This heterogeneous composition of chief intriguers and pretenders for places, has therefore already preserved the consular revolutionary constitution longer than any of the preceding ones. It has besides, by preferring affluence to rank and slavery, to liberty and equality, made the power of the usurper unlimited, and the actions of the consular tyrant uncontrolable, so that all French citizens, whom neither places

make courtiers, pensions can silence, or money bribe, the Temple, the military commissions, the guillotine or Cayenne get out of the way, or bury their clamours, murmurs, disaffections or complaints.

Having united all the authorities, both civil and military, in his own person, it was only necessary to adapt the yoke to the necks which were to bear it, to prevent discontent at first, and in the early use of power to seem a benefactor dispensing blessings, and not a tyrant imposing burthens. Yet the First Consul and his principal advisers, Talleyrand and Fouché, were not now to learn, that, in order to retain uncontroled ascendancy, it was necessary to fetter the press. If the unlimited right of publication remained, no permanent usurpation and dominion could be expected among a people, prone to changes, disposed to cavil, and disgusted with upstart governors and governments. The Executive Directory, from the moment of their establishment, had severely felt the embarrassment arising from this circumstance: their utmost despotism had been exerted in vain; presses had been seized, journals suppressed, and editors punished with exemplary rigour; but yet new presses, journals similar in sentiment, though different in name,

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and editors of equal audacity and ability, daily arose. Buonaparte, however, at an early period of his sway, terminated this difficulty, by decreeing that only a certain number of newspapers, magazines and reviews, should be tolerated; and the new constitution contained not a syllable in favour of the rights of printing or speaking. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find in the pages of history, three guilty characters, such as Buonaparte, Talleyrand and Fouché, who had more to appreliend from a liberty of the press, which might alike expose the crimes of the barbarous poisoner, of the crafty unfeeling intriguer, and of the ferocious terrorist, drowner, and plunderer. That it therefore has been their constant plan to enslave and fetter, in the same manner, the presses of all countries where French arms have penetrated or French intrigues prevailed, is neither surprizng nor unexpected.

Having thus paralysed one of the most formidable means of creating an opposition to a revolutionary government, and knowing if he did, that it was not by his victories, but his pacifications, not by his valour and fortune in the field, but his former negotiations, and avowed professions for a peace, that had made him popular with the French Nation, (which now totally disregarded all laurels and trophies of triumph, and only sighed and prayed

for the termination of hostilities, and desired the olive-branch of peace to close the temple of Janus for ever), he determined to preserve his popularity by the same hypocritical means by which he had obtained it, and to offer peace, and to propose the cessation of war, that the new revolution, his very usurpation, and, in consequence, the unsettled government, must, if foreign nations were not totally blind to their own interest and safety, undoubtedly continue at least for another campaign. He therefore wrote letters to the Emperors of Germany and Russia, and to the King of Great Britain *, containing the usual bombastic expres-

* Lettre du Ministre des Relations Exterieures de France, a Lord Grenville, principal Secretaire d'Etat de sa Majesté Britannique au Department des Affaires Etrangeres.

MILORD,

J'expedie, par ordre du General Bonaparte, Premier Consul de la Republique Française, un Courier a Londre; il est porteur d'une lettre du Premier Consul de la Republique pour sa Majesté le Roi d'Angleterre. Je vous prie de donner des ordres necessaries pour qu'il puisse la remettre sans intermediaire. Cette demarche annonce d'elle meme, l'importance de son objet. Recevez Milord, l'assurance de ma plus haute consideration.

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, 5 *Nivose*, *an* 8.

Lettre de Buonaparte a sa Majesté Britannique.

Republique Française, Souverainété du Peuple.

LIBERTE. EGALITE!!

Paris, 5 *Nivose*, *an* 8.

Appellé par le voeu de la Nation Francaise a occuper la premiere magistrature de la Republique, *je crois convenable*, en entrant

expressions of the deceitful revolutionary cant, and *declaring his abhorrence of war, though war alone had dragged him from his obscurity, and made him every thing.* The first words in this letter which struck the eyes of lawful Sovereigns, were LIBERTY and EQUALITY! as this was the accustomed etiquette of the former republican usurpers

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trant en charge, d'en faire *directement* part a votre Majesté. La guerre qui depuis huit ans, ravage les quartre parties du monde, doit elle etre eternelle? N'est il donc aucun moyen de s'entendre?

Comment les deux nations les plus eclairés de l'Europe, puissantes et forte plus que ne l'exigent leur sureté et leur independence, peuvent elles, sacrifier a des idées de vaine grandeur, le bien du commerce, la prosperité interieure, le bonheur des familles? Comment ne sentent-elles pas que la paix est le premier des besoins, comme le premier des gloires?

Ces sentiments ne peuvent etre etrangers au cœur de votre Majesté, qui gouverne une nation libre, et donc le seul but est de la rendre heureuse.

Votre Majesté ne verra, dans cette ouverture, que *mon desire sincere* de contribuer *efficacement, pour la seconde fois*, a la pacification generale par une demarche prompte, *toute de confiance*, et degagée de ces formes, qui, necessaires peut-etre pour deguiser la dependance des etats faibles, ne decelent, des etats forts, que le desir mutuel de se tromper.

La France, l'Angleterre, *par l'abus de leurs forces*, peuvent long-tems encore, pour le malheur de tous les peuples, en retarder l'epuisement; mais j'ose le dire, le sort de toutes les nations civilisées est attaché a la fin d'une guerre, qui embrâse le monde entier.

(Signé) BONAPARTE.

in their correspondence with *neutral* Princes, it would not deserve any observation, had not the petty vain-glorious Buonaparte on all occasions, with the ferocity of a tiger united the vanity of a coquet, and therefore these words were neither written by change nor by custom, but to let all Europe know, that he pretended already to an equality with its first monarchs, though he had been only a fortnight an usurper: it proved to them what *right* and *equality* they might expect for the future, should fortune favour his vanity and pretensions, and that his intent and endeavour would be not only to insult and dishonour kings, but by such an equality to undermine and destroy monarchy itself; and as all possible power could never procure him the equal respect due to legal princes, nor the equal regard customary between hereditary Sovereigns, his constant plans and plots would be to force them to descend to a level with him, as he can never ascend to an equal elevation, birth, and prerogative with them.

By addressing this letter to our King himself, Buonaparte likewise deserted the regular forms of diplomatic proceeding: Lord Grenville therefore very justly answered Talleyrand, by observing, "that the King, seeing no reason for departing from the forms of transacting affairs between foreign

reign states, which prevailed throughout Europe, had directed him to answer the propositions of the First Consul by a note to his minister." He traced the conduct of France from the origin of the existing hostilities, and noticed the repeated assurances made by every succeeding government of pacific intentions, *whilst all their acts were replete with aggressions.* "The new government had given no proofs of a disposition to adopt a different system, nor could any certainty be given of its stability. The best assurances which Great Britain could receive of the formation of a regular government in France, would be the restoration of that race of princes, who, for so many ages, preserved the French Nation in internal prosperity and in consideration and respect among foreign powers. But although such an event would obviate every obstacle, his Majesty did not consider it indispensably necessary to the attainment of a *safe* and *durable* peace; but whenever he should be of opinion that the *security of his own dominions*, and *those of his Allies*, and *the general security of Europe*, could be attained, he would eagerly seize the opportunity to concert with his Allies the means of an immediate and general pacification. *Hitherto no such security existed*; and nothing remained for him

him to do but to prosecute, in conjunction with the other powers, a just and defensive war."

At the very period Buonaparte held the language of peace to Great Britain, his Ministers at Berlin, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, and his emissaries at St. Petersburgh, proposed and prepared the plan for that Northern Coalition against the British empire, which twelve months afterwards was concluded, and which Lord Nelson's victory dissolved. Our ministers judged therefore rightly, of the First Consul's sincerity in a negotiation offered and undertaken only to shew his consequence abroad, to preserve his popularity at home, and to lull, if possible, England into a fatal security, or to lessen the vigorous efforts of the late ministers to crush to pieces the French revolutionary monster, as the only certain means to finish with honour, advantage and safety, a war it alone had provoked and began.

The attention of Buonaparte was next occupied with the disturbances which had taken place in the western and southern departments, and seemed to augur a renewal of the Vendean conflict: not satisfied with preparing an army to subdue the insurgents, his natural inclination, so well corresponding with the cruel and Machiavelian counsels

counsels of Fouché, made him resolve by bribes, threats, intrigues, and murder, to finish what he called *an impious war*, and by gaining over or disuniting some of the royalist chiefs, be enabled to bravely butcher the remainder without resistance, when either deserted or betrayed. Thus when D'Autichamp, Bourmont, Chatillon and Fourmont received three hundred thousand livres each, the loyal and incorruptible Frotté was betrayed and shot, though with a republican *safe-conduct* in his pocket *. If any doubt should remain of Buonaparte's humane, generous, and reconciliating measures in the insurgent department, the following lines, extracted from the mandates he sent to his military commissions and to his *pacifying* generals will dispel it: they were ordered "*to shoot every royalist who should be found in arms, also every person liable to suspicion, without sparing either age or sex!—to strike those who negotiate—to kill those who hesitate or resist!!!*"

Having in such a noble manner quieted or got rid of the internal enemies to his usurpation, Buonaparte issued orders for the assembling of an

* The particulars of Frotté's capture are related in Fouché's life, as the author had it from the republican General Guidal: it may be depended upon. See vol. i. p. 135.

army

army of sixty thousand men near Dijon, in Burgundy, called the Army of Reserve. To encourage young men to join and enlist in the different corps composing this army, he issued an hypocritical proclamation, addressed to the passions of the French youth, and not to their reason, or to that of their parents:—"You are desirous of peace," says he; "*your government* desires it with still greater ardour; its most earnest wishes, its *constant solicitude*, is for that, and that alone. But the English ministry, *eager to debase France to the rank of a secondary power*, and anxious to keep all the continental states at variance, on purpose to seize on their spoils, still reject the idea. The government, however, which was not afraid *to offer*, and *and even to solicit* this blessing; is well aware, *that it belongs to you to command it*; and to command it, money, steel and soldiers are necessary.

"Let all, therefore, be eager to participate in the common defence. Let the young men fly to arms: *it is no longer for the support of a faction, it is no longer for the choice of a tyrant*, that they are called upon to take the field; it is *for the safety of all that is dear to them*; it is *for the sacred interests of humanity, for the support of liberty*, and *for the honour of France*."

As

As many, however, doubted of the stability of Buonaparte's government, of his solicitude for peace, while hitherto his *only passion* and *glory* had been *war*, and that in fighting for an usurper they took the field for the liberty and honour of France; the proclamation had not the desired effect, and the usual revolutionary measures were therefore resorted to. All young men, under the appellation of conscripts, were again torn from their families in the most oppressive manner, and compelled to serve; but as he could not entirely depend upon these *volunteers*, he united with them the veterans who had fought in La Vendée, well knowing that soldiers who had not objected to stain their hands with the blood of their countrymen, in arms for the throne and the altar, would have no repugnance to force others to fight for and defend the cause of usurpation and rebellion.

By the neglect, ignorance or treachery of Melas, it was with an army thus composed that Buonaparte was able to disorganize and enslave the European continent.

The different columns which composed the army of reserve, marched early in May 1800 towards Geneva, and on the 12th of the same month were reviewed by the First Consul in the neighbourhood of Lausanne. They then continued

nued their march along the right bank of the Rhone, until they reached the confluence of the Durance near to Martinack. So far the roads had been practicable, but before they could arrive in the Valley of Aosta, it became necessary to traverse twenty Italian miles of the mountainous regions of the great St. Bernard, situated between those of Simplon and Mount Blanc, nearly impervious to man, and over which a carriage had never passed. After some dangers and great fatigues, the army reached Aosta, which, after a very slight resistance, opened its gates to the invader. Chatillon and the Castle of Bard surrendered in a few days. Master of these places, and the Castle of Ivrea, Buonaparte had before him two roads by which he might march to the relief of Genoa, then hardly pressed by the Austrians, and bravely defended by Massena; the one by Chivasso, Turin, Asti, and Alexandria, and the other by Vercetti, Navarre, Milan, Lodi, and Placenza. The first was rather the shortest, but in preferring the other Buonaparte avoided the necessity of passing under the cannon of Turin and Alexandria, and gained the advantages of seizing the principal magazines and stores, formed and collected by the Austrians on the Tessino, the Adda, and the Oglio, and which the fatal security

rity

rity and negligence of Melas left almost unprotected.

Notwithstanding the numerous army Buonaparte carried with him into Italy, and which was ar superior to the Austrians, he ordered and received reinforcements from General Moreau of twenty-five thousand veterans, commanded by General Moncey, and thus his army amounted to eighty-five thousand men, whilst that of the enemy was only about forty-five thousand.

Although, in a fortnight after his descent from the Alps, Buonaparte was placed in the midst of his former conquests, yet he was with his whole army perfectly isolated, and it appeared certain that a single reverse must expose him to inevitable destruction; trusting therefore to fortune, and to the number of his troops, he was very desirous of bringing General Melas to a decisive engagement; he did not doubt but that the Emperor would send reinforcements; and had the two armies been equal in numbers, Buonaparte probably would not have more reason to boast of his campaign in Italy 1800, than that of Syria in 1799.

Genoa had capitulated on the 4th of June, and the blockading army under General Ott joined the chief corps under Melas on the 9th: preparations were made for a pitched battle, which on

the part of the Austrians appeared only an ordinary encounter, whilst it was obvious that upon the fate of this contest depended the power, reputation, and, perhaps, the life of Buonaparte.

At day-break on the 14th of June, the Austrians divided into three columns, passed the Bormida upon an equal number of bridges; that of the right ascended along the bank, while the centre followed the great road leading to the village of Marengo, and the left advanced towards Castel Ceriolo. After an obstinate contest, which lasted six hours, the Austrians had gained possession of Marengo, and compelled General Victor, who commanded the left and the centre, to retreat, and his movement forced Lasnes, who commanded the right wing, to adopt the same measure. The victory appeared complete; the republicans, defeated in all directions, retired in confusion to the plain of San Guilio, where Dessaix was placed with a chosen corps de reserve, who made with it a sudden and desperate charge on the pursuing army; the Austrians were broken in their turn, and after a close engagement of thirteen hours, victory remained with the French. The whole glory of this battle appertains to Dessaix, for the laurels of Buonaparte had withered this day on his brow; the First Consul was defeated and in full

full retreat, when this General rushed forward and devoted himself for the preservation of his countrymen, though, by the caprice of fortune, the honour and advantages of the victory remained with Buonaparte, whilst the victor Dessaix was killed on the field of battle.

Complete as this victory was, had not Melas been awed by the influence of circumstances, his judgment dazzled by the supposed ascendancy of Buonaparte, or his faculties enfeebled by the temporary failure of his troops, he would never have consented to sign such a degrading, impolitic, and dishonourable armistice as that concluded and agreed on two days after the battle of Marengo: the Imperial troops were not dispirited, on the contrary, they called for the renewal of the encounter, because they would not allow that the incident which closed the day entitled their opponents to claim the honours of victory. But the intrigues of Buonaparte were more successful than even his armies: the great and experienced General Melas, vanished from view, and nothing remained but an abject and dispirited individual, ready to yield to every terror to purchase relaxation by every concession, forgetting alike his honour as a general, and his duty as a subject: influenced and blinded by a debasing panic alone, he

gave up in one evil hour, what had required years of victories and rivers of blood to conquer; and in acting so, he changed with a stroke of the pen the general aspect of affairs, in a manner that the court of Vienna was unable to refuse the ratification of this inglorious and injudicious compact between weakness and audacity.

From this abridged account it is evident, that the subsequent disasters and humiliation of Austria, and the slavery of the continent, originated not from the battle of Marengo, which the Imperial commander lost to General Dessaix, but from the convention of Alexandria, which Buonaparte swindled from the trembling Melas.

Buonaparte was now again enabled to ravage wretched Italy, and that he did so, surprized nobody, who had witnessed or suffered from his former dominion over that country; but though only absent three years, he had during that period proclaimed himself an apostate, renounced his Saviour, and adored Mahomed; it astonished therefore even his generals and the Italian patriots, to see this arch-hypocrite affect, after the victory of Marengo, once more to be a Christian, in ordering Te Deum to be sung at the Metropolitan Church at Milan, *for the happy deliverance of Italy from heretics and infidels!* and attending,

dare

dare to pronounce the name of his Redeemer, whom he, as a political Judas, had so frequently abrogated.

Once the sovereign disposer of the immense resources of fertile Italy, as well as those of France, Switzerland and Holland, Buonaparte expected to dictate terms of submission to his continental enemy, and to dishonour them by a desertion of their British ally before they were conquered by French arms. But had the Austrian army been as complete as its fidelity and spirit were great, and the First Consul, instead of Moreau, had commanded the republicans in Germany, where a young prince, and not an old woman, headed the brave Imperialists, the cowardly blunders of Italy might have been repaired and Europe been yet free; because Moreau, though vastly superior to his opponents, gained the battle of Hohenlinden only by his brilliant and vigorous manœuvres, surpassing, in the opinion of military men, all that Buonaparte atchieved or pretended to atchieve, by force of numbers, perfidy and blood.

As the valour of Dessaix had procured Buonaparte Italy, so the successes of Moreau in Suabia, Bavaria and Austria, made him powerful enough to oblige Austria, for the first time, to acknow-

ledge, in a formal treaty, the superiority of France, and to resign to the French republicans the first place amongst continental states, which it for centuries had maintained and for centuries defended. But the treaty of Luneville, if it is a monument of the weakened situation of Austria, is at the same time an eternal reproach to an ungenerous, fortunate foe, who by this pacification told all the world, that an universal republic, founded upon universal plunder, corruption, and overthrow, is the constant plan and determination of the Corsican ruler over the French commonwealth, more so than an universal monarchy was that of some of the lawful sovereigns during the French monarchy.

England being now the only active enemy of the French republic, Buonaparte employed all his arts and influence in exciting such a spirit among his own subjects, and establishing such a system among the other powers of Europe, as would promote his views of crushing, and, if possible, destroying the British nation. Every commotion in France, every attempt of expiring factions, every crime dictated by political enthusiasm or personal vengeance, was imputed to the *secret* agency of the British administration; and enslaved as was the French press, and prejudiced and

and ignorant as were the people, it was not more difficult now, than during the former periods of the revolution, to dupe their credulity and excite their passions by the grossest absurdities. They therefore easily believed, when Buonaparte's countryman Arena, and several other jacobins, in revenge for being imposed upon by his revolutionary hypocrisy, conspired, or, rather, *were accused* to have conspired his destruction, and when some enthusiastic anti-republicans endeavoured, by the infernal machine, to purge the earth of a rebel who had long dishonoured it by his crimes before he oppressed it by his tyranny, that both these plots were paid by British gold, and planned in British councils. To confirm the French people in their belief, a fabricated narrative, the production, and worthy of the genius, veracity, and humanity of the regicide Fouché, was published, and made use of as a *political* instrument to inflame the republicans against the British Government and Nation, by imputing to them a design totally repugnant to the nature of Englishmen, that of assassinating an enemy. They willingly accredited every fiction, however gross, and gave implicit faith, not only to the tale suggested by the late transactions, but were *convinced* by the official consular Moniteur, that all the horrors,

horrors and murders which had disfigured France in the course of the Revolution, were directed and paid by the British Government, that Mirabeau and Brissot, Marat and Robespierre, Rewbell and Barras, had all obtained instructions and salaries from Pitt, to guillotine, to murder, to shoot, to drown, or to transport the virtuous French Citizens.

But while Great Britain maintained the indisputable sovereignty of the ocean, the effect of French or Corsican hatred was little to be apprehended. To countervail, therefore, the ascendancy of the British naval power, Buonaparte availed himself of some jealousies and disputes between England and two of the Northern Powers; and by one of those strange turns of politics, that often derange the best projects of human wisdom and foresight, the Emperor of Russia, totally changing those noble principles which had entitled him to the greatest share of admiration, from a loyal defender of all thrones was become the zealous partisan of French usurpation, and the soul of a league with Prussia, Sweden and Denmark, fabricated under the auspices of Buonaparte, for the ruin, as it was hoped, of Great Britain. As success gilded the banners of the Corsican, the eyes of the Emperor Paul became dazzled;

dazzled; and, seduced by French emissaries, he panted to share his friendship. Buonaparte easily appreciated the character of this unfortunate prince; and, that he rather admired what was splendid, than pursued what was just; that he as often confounded fortune with merit, as caprice with reason; he therefore flattered the Emperor's vanity and desire of being thought a model of heroism and virtue, by the most abject and incessant soothings; but such is the blasted curse of Buonaparte's friendship, that the Russian monarch had not been six months connected with, or attached to this republican ruler, before a premature death broke those ties, which victorious crime had no intention to respect any longer than interest demanded, or hypocrisy continued to dupe capricious or imbecile power. Under these circumstances, the victor of the Nile gathered new laurels before Copenhagen, and again blighted the hopes of Buonaparte, and dissolved in one day a confederacy, which French emissaries and intriguers had been months preparing and concluding.

Obtaining at this same period information of the victory and progress of the British arms in Egypt, Buonaparte determined to try to gain by the cunning, sophistry and Machiavelism of his nego-

negotiators, those advantages for which his warriors and those of his allies had in vain been combating both in Europe and in Africa, both in the Sound and before Aboukir. For near six months Citizen Otto therefore corresponded, presented plans and counter-plans, for a pacification between Great Britain and France, but he did not sign the preliminaries before he was certain that no Frenchman commanded any longer in Egypt, by the surrender of Alexandria to Lord Hutchinson.

As the perfidy of Buonaparte and his representative, in giving up Egypt *only as a compensation* for the restitution of the French colonies, when they knew the fall of Alexandria, has been doubted by many, the author, who, during the summer 1801, was a prisoner on parole at Marseilles, can affirm, that on the 21st of September, a vessel anchored in its neighbourhood from Alexandria, which it had left on the 1st of the same month, and brought the official account of the capitulation of General Menou, concluded two days before, or August 30th. This capitulation was known upon the Exchange at Marseilles before three o'clock that day, and in the evening, at the play-house, both the prefect, La Croix, and the commander, General Cervoni, made no secret of it; and that they had expedited couriers to Paris with information

mation to government of this event. Orders were besides publicly sent to the commissary of marine, and to the inspector of the quarantine, to prepare provisions, refreshments, &c. for the garrison of Alexandria, of which four hundred men arrived on the 1st of October in the road of Marseilles. The distance between this city and Paris is 200 leagues, which a courier may easily travel in four days and nights; no doubt can therefore remain, but that before the 26th of September, the surrender of Menou was known to Buonaparte, who, in consequence, ordered Otto to conclude a peace, which, though highly honourable to the good faith and sincerity of the British cabinet, treachery alone signed on the part of France.

The impolitic eagerness to applaud Lauriston, and the humiliating honours (to all loyal Britons) which were bestowed upon this emissary of an usurper, caused Buonaparte and his minister, Talleyrand, to believe that such was the want and desire of peace in all classes of Britons, that they might do, contrary to the interest of England, any thing caprice, passion or ambition instigated or demanded, to gratify humour, avarice, hatred, pretension or vanity. A peace, or, rather, a *treaty* of peace, was therefore swindled from the Sublime Porte, and an army sent to St. Domingo. Buonaparte

naparte usurped the supreme magistracy in Italy, added Parma, the island of Elba, and Louisiana, to his other dominions, and all those indirect threats to Great Britain, and real acquisitions for France, took place within six months after the preliminaries had been agreed to, and before the definitive treaty between England and France was signed; and the day after its very signature, he insulted our country by another treaty with Holland, which deprived our ancient ally, the Prince of Orange, the relative of our beloved Sovereign, of all his claims in the Batavian Republic. These repeated and barefaced provocations made the most enlightened politicians, both in England and upon the Continent, conclude that Buonaparte had no intention to live in peace and amity with the British empire, and they, in consequence, anticipated a speedy renewal of hostilities.

And, in fact, from the beginning to the end of this (for the happiness of the world) short-lived peace, every act of Buonaparte was as imperious as unjust, as humiliating as degrading to us; new restraints were laid upon our commerce, the debts due to British subjects were never paid, and all British travellers (with some few *political* or *patriotic* exceptions) were either vexed, insulted, plundered or arrested; the representative of our nation, as well

well as the lowest of its members, felt the effects of Buonaparte's unmanly and ungenerous hatred towards this country; and, as if afraid that his audacity and ill will should not be sufficiently known throughout Europe, the political monster, his official Moniteur, continued to accuse and calumniate Great Britain, and to dictate to its government in a manner that he was accustomed to command the enslaved nations of Italy, Switzerland and Holland. When, therefore, at last, the endurance, patience and moderation of our ministers were exhausted, and we were permitted to call a man our enemy who had never been our friend, the unanimity was greater in favour of war than the rejoicing had been for the cessation of hostilities.

Short as the peace was, it had, however, been useful, by exposing in its true light to all deluded, factious or seduced Britons, the real character of a man, for whom many had been so infatuated; whose hypocrisy was as great as his cruelty; who offered freedom, when he intended slavery, and held out equality, when all his actions and transactions had proved, that he neither suffered an equal nor a superior.

Wherever Buonaparte was only known by his fame as a fortunate general, he was admired, but, people of all countries and climates, in America as

well as in Europe and Africa, when cursed by his presence, or the presence of his armed or disarmed slaves, soon changed admiration into detestation—the tyrant has been abhorred, and the victor hated or despised. Under pretence of encouraging commerce, and extending his *paternal* protection to the colonies, he duped, arrested, and murdered Toussaint, and violated the plighted *honour* of the nation to the unhappy negroes, who had by their arms preserved St. Domingo as a French colony, but whom his treachery made ferocious, and whose valour and despair, assisted by the diseases of an unhealthy atmosphere, have annihilated numbers of those veteran troops who had escaped the fire, sword and the bayonets of the English, the German, the Italian, the Turk, and the Mameluke, but whom Buonaparte did not trust in France, and therefore sent to perish in St. Domingo near two-thirds of this ill-fated army, consisting of chosen men who had fought and distinguished themselves under Generals Pichegru and Moreau, and were suspected by the Corsican, with whom transportation and death always and immediately follow suspicion.

By the religious concordat, which he put the Pope in requisition to approve and sign, Buonaparte published his own disbelief in all religions,

and

and that he was actuated only by policy and not by faith, and, therefore, instead of quieting and tranquillizing the consciences of the timid or timorous, he troubled those of the real devout christians, who, seeing a murderer and a poisoner, an apostate and a blasphemer, sacrilegiously usurp the right of proclaiming himself the restorer of the cult of our Saviour, began to doubt, if it was possible, that a God could exist, and permit such outrageous and unheard of impiety and profanation, by suffering this cruel man to augment the mass of his revolutionary crimes, with a revolutionary religion to profane the altars of his God, as he had already done the throne of his king.

In creating a corps, called the *Legion of Honour*, Buonaparte, in a republic of equality, has erected a revolutionary nobility, with ranks, precedence, and privileges far superior to those of all former nobles, either in France or in Europe; what causes the French people to suffer so much the more from these, NOVI HOMINES, or republican and upstart patricians, is, that most of them are men sprung from the very dregs of the revolutionary mobs, who within these last fifteen years have committed such enormous crimes; possessing no more education, probity, or patriotism, than honour, morality or religion, who are only

slaves to the Corsican, that they unpunished, may tyrannize over their countrymen.

It is a curious fact, that *regularly every year*, since Buonaparte usurped the throne of the Bourbons, he has, by some changes or other, once or oftener, violated that constitution which made him a First Consul. In 1800, the return of the emigrants and of the proscribed clergy; in 1801, the concordat with the Pope; in 1802, the amnesty for the emigrants, and the consulate for life, and in 1803, the legion of honour—are all despotical acts, and institutions contrary to the very letter of the republican code, which he, in 1799, had so solemnly sworn to respect. Knowing the changeable and unsteady French character, he has taken care to provide yearly some new subjects for the speculation and occupation of philosophers as well as of politicians, to encourage the hope of the royalists, without diminishing the expectation of the republicans or the desire of the jacobins. He has promoted and employed men of all parties, deceived men of all parties, and punished men of all parties; and thus, in making them by turns his accomplices, slaves or victims, he rules over them all, and has already reigned longer than any of his revolutionary predecessors.

With

With the same cunning, impudence and audacity that he allures, imposes or oppresses French citizens, he undermines monarchy, and in the persons of their representatives, insults and degrades foreign monarchs, shewing that he does not intend to respect the prerogative of lawful sovereigns more than the rights of free people; the independence of states more than the laws of nations or etiquettes of courts. The vulgar language of the corps des gardes, and the commanding language of the camp, are oftener heard in the castles of the Thuilleries and St. Cloud, than the decorous conversation and dignified address of a chief magistrate and commander over one of the greatest and most civilized nations in the world. At Buonaparte's diplomatic audiences, at his military reviews or levees, at the court circle, with his wife, the ambassadors of emperors and kings, tremble and blush not for themselves, but for the First Consul, who so often forgets his rank, and stoops to a behaviour and conversation, which his lowest valet should be ashamed to make use of among *his equals* in the republican servants'-hall or in the consular kitchen. It is true, the Temple is no more in fashion to teach *privileged* diplomatic agents the revolutionary laws of nations; but the First Consul in the audience chamber at the Thuilleries,

is often more illiberal, unfeeling and ungenerous, than formerly the first jailor over the official dungeons in the republican Temple-bastile.

When Louis XVI. in 1786, went to Cherbourg, he was escorted by no more than *forty of his life-guards:* when Buonaparte, in 1803, went to Normandy and Brabant, his escort consisted of *twelve hundred horsemen.* All the expences for the journey Louis XVI. made, did not amount to a *million of livres,* or forty-two thousand pounds; the *daily expences* of Buonaparte and his suite, during the late journey, were calculated by his Minister Marbois at the rate of *six hundred thousand livres,* or twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. Such is the difference between the order and economy of a regular and paternal government, and the tyrannical one of an upstart and usurper, as extravagant now as he was formerly poor and distressed.

Bourrien, Buonaparte's confidential secretary, was last autumn dismissed with disgrace, and disgraced with *eclat*; some indiscreet observations, of what had come to his knowledge during the seven years he shared the confidence, and perhaps the crimes of Buonaparte, was the cause of a rupture, which many thought impossible, because they believed it impolitic on the part of the Corsican: in hopes to regain favour, or with a design

design to revenge wrongs, Bourrien published a pamphlet, called *The Livre Rouge of the Consular Court, dedicated to the Economists, and other Modern Reformers.* Before it could be offered to the public, the police at Paris seized it, and the Author and Printer were both sent to the Temple. With the exception of three copies, the whole was destroyed: from one of these copies, the extract now presented to the public is taken.

Bourrien's preface to this pamphlet contains no less than twenty-four pages, intended to prove the near connexion between revolutionary government and revolutionary finances; that the confusion of the one is inseparable from the anarchy of the other; that a decree of the First Consul, or a Senatus Consultus of his slavish senate, may as well declare it against the honour of the great Nation, to have any national debt, in the same manner it has already decreed and declared it political to dishonour the great nation with a Corsican Consul for life.

It is a fact, says Bourrien, which Frenchmen and Foreigners have not enough attended to, that since our financial quacks, the economists, began to put their absurd theories into practice, we have no more order or regularity in our finances, than, from practising the no less absurd and dangerous theories

theories of our political quacks, we have received the blessings of liberty for our persons and principles, or the happiness of security for our property and possessions. So long as France continues to have no stable Government, it will continue to have no finances, and the French Government can never be called stable, when its stability depends upon the life of one individual, and this individual is a foreigner, or at least no Frenchman, but a cruel and vile Corsican intriguer.

Mella jubes Hyblaea tibi vel Hymettia nasci,
Et *thyma* cecropiae Corsica pouis api. MART.

	Francs *.
The annual civil list establishment of the First Consul -	24,000,000
His wardrobe, plate, china, the crown jewels he has appropriated to his use, those plundered or extorted in Italy, Spain, and Portugal - -	20,000,000
The private jewels, plate, &c. of Madame Buonaparte -	3,000,000
Her pin-money, annually -	1,000,000
For the establishment of Joseph Buonaparte, once paid -	2,000,000

* A Franc is about tenpence halfpenny.

A yearly

	Francs.
A yearly pension -	1,200,000
An annuity to four relations of Madame J. Buonaparte -	200,000
Presents to J. Buonaparte for his negotiations at Luneville, Amiens, &c. - -	1,500,000
The establishment of Lucien Buonaparte - -	2,000,000
A yearly pension - -	1,200,000
His wardrobe, china, plate, pictures, and the diamonds he extorted from Spain and Portugal -	4,000,000
Annuities to the parents and relations of his late wife, a daughter of an inn-keeper at St. Maricius -	200,000
Debts paid in France and Spain	3,000,000
The establishment of Louis Buonaparte - -	2,000,000
A yearly pension -	1,200,000
Debts paid at Berlin, and in other parts of Germany, in 1800, and 1801 - -	1,000,000
At his marriage - -	600,000
Ditto, to his wife Mademoiselle Beauharnois - -	600,000
At the birth of her child, -	600,000
For an hotel at Paris, and two estates	

in

	Francs.
in the country, for the future establishment of Jerome Buonaparte,	1,500,000
A yearly pension, until married,	600,000
Money deposited in foreign banks, in the name of Jerome Buonaparte,	1,000,000

THE FIRST CONSUL'S SISTERS.

1. Madame Bacchiochi, an establishment - -	1,000,000
A yearly pension -	600,000
Present in diamonds, &c. -	600,000
To several of her husband's relations, annuities -	200,000
2. Madame Santa Cruce, an establishment -	1,000,000
A yearly pension -	600,000
Presents in diamonds, &c. -	600,000
Annuities to two of her husband's relations - -	100,000
3. Madame Murat, an establishment,	1,000,000
A yearly pension -	600,000
Presents in diamonds, &c. -	600,000
To five of her husband's relations, annuities - -	200,000
4. Madame Le Clerc, an establishment - - -	1,000,000
A yearly pension -	600,000

Presents

	Francs.
Presents in diamonds, &c. -	600,000
Ditto for going to St. Domingo	500,000
To some of her husband's relations, annuities --	300,000
To Madame Buonaparte, the Consul's mother, an establishment	2,000,000
A yearly pension -	1,000,000
Presents, &c. - -	600,000
(As she lives mostly with the Consul, she distributes her pension among her other children.)	
The Consul's uncle, the Archbishop of Lyons, an annuity -	600,000
For an establishment -	500,000
To pay for a library -	300,000
To eight poor cousins, and twelve more distant relations of the Consul, annuities - -	500,000
To a butcher, a second cousin of the Consul, once paid, on condition of not leaving Corsica -	300,000
Annuities to his wife and children, on on the same condition -	50,000
To young Beauharnois, an annuity	600,000
A present at his sister's marriage -	300,000
An hotel and an estate for his future establishment - - -	600,000

Paid

	Francs.
Paid for his debts -	1,200,000
To Madame La Pagerie, Madame Buonaparte's mother, for an establishment - -	1,000,000
A yearly pension -	600,000
To six of her relations, annuities	500,000
To 50 private spies of the First Consul, yearly - - -	300,000
Barrere's name is amongst them, but he is, besides, in another part of the Livre Rouge, a Censor over the Press, with a stipend of 12,000 francs. Pensions to 406 other persons, either distant relations of the Buonaparte family, or favourites; amongst others, Ruostan, the favourite Mameluke, for 24,000 francs; six women, ruined by Lucien, for 3,000 francs each; Madame Louis's dancing-master, for 3000 francs, &c. &c. -	5,000,000
Secret service money, amongst the household troops and in the interior of the castles of St. Cloud and the Thuilleries, annually -	1,500,000
The Second Consul, yearly	2,000,000
To his relations, do. -	200,000

The

	Francs.
The Third Consul, do. -	1,500,000
To his children, do. -	300,000
To other relations, do. -	200,000

PRIVATE

SECRET EXPENCES OF THE FIRST CONSUL.

YEAR VIII.

To the members of the Council of the Ancients, in Brumaire, year viii.	1,500,000
To do. of the Council of Five Hundred, do. - -	3,000,000
To the Directorial Guard, do.	1,000,000
To General Le Fevre, for the military, at and near Paris -	2,500,000
To the disposal of Fouché -	1,200,000
The Constitutional Committee -	2,000,000
For accelerating the acceptation of the Constitution, with addresses, &c. - -	6,000,000
The Army of the West, during the negotiation with the Royalists	3,500,000
For the pacification of the Royalists,	2,400,000
To the Army in Switzerland	1,200,000
To the Army in Germany -	2,000,000
Do. on the war, and in Liguria	1,000,000
Do. in Egypt (Ventose) -	1,500,000
Do. of Reserve (Germinal) -	600,000

	Francs.
To Adjutant Duroc at Berlin -	2,000,000
To Citizen Otto, in England	1,000,000
Do. for the inspection over the Bourbons - -	100,000
For do. do. in Poland and Holstein	100,000
For do. do. and the army of Condé	200,000
Remitted to Madame Bonœille, for secret services in Russia -	800,000
To the different members of the Senates - -	600,000
Do. of the Legislative corps -	600,000
Do. of the Tribunate -	500,000
To 25 generals -	1,800,000
Distributed at Brest -	1,200,000
Do. at Toulon -	600,000
Remitted to private agent at Vienna in Floreal and Fructidor -	3,000,000
New remittances to the army of Egypt on account of some captures by the English -	1,200,000
To Generals Menou and D'Estaign	1,000,000
YEAR IX.	
To Louis Buonaparte at Berlin (Frimaire) -	1,500,000
Do. at Konigsberg and Dantzig for Russia - -	3,000,000

For

	Francs.
For private information at the armies of Moreau and Augereau -	1,200,000
Do. at the army of interior -	600,000
Do. at do. against Portugal -	300,000
Do. at do. in Italy, Switzerland and Holland - -	300,000
To some leading members of the Senate - - -	500,000
Do. of the Legislative Body -	300,000
Do. of the Tribunate -	200,000
Remitted to Adjutant Lauriston at Copenhagen (Germinal) -	600,000
Do. to Adjutant Duroc at St. Petersburgh, in Prairial -	3,000,000
Do. to Citizen Otto, in England	1,200,000
Do. to General Menou -	600,000
For the inspections over the Bourbons in England, Poland and Germany	600,000
Amongst the naval armies at Brest and Toulon, for secret information	300,000
To sixteen generals -	800,000
For secret influence at the Military Special Tribunals -	300,000
YEAR X.	
For the return of some bishops and priests - - -	1,600,000

	Francs.
The Consuls at Lyons -	4,000,000
To some leading members of the Senate on the motion of the Consulate, for life - -	800,000
Do. - - -	700,000
Do. of the Council of State, do.	600,000
Do. of the Legislative Body, do.	500,000
Do. of the Tribunate, do. -	500,000
To the different Prefects, do. -	12,000,000
To fifty generals, do. -	3,500,000
To the different armies, do. -	3,000,000
To the navy at Brest and Toulon, do.	600,000
For accelerating the votes and proposing addresses at Paris, to Fouché and Dubois - -	300,000
Do. in the departments -	3,000,000
For the inspection over the Bourbons - -	600,000
Remitted to Citizen Otto -	500,000
For the private inspection over the ministers and at their offices -	100,000
Amongst the military at Paris, per General Junot -	100,000
Do. in the departments -	4,000,000

To prove with what indifference and profusion millions are squandered away, and with what

what contempt the squandered millions are accounted for, the *budget presented to the Legislative Body at its last meeting, in February* 1803, *and published in the official Moniteur*, contains the following concise narration, how near three millions of sterling have been expended.

YEAR IX.

32 millions expended in negotiations (pour frais des negotiations).

YEAR X.

10 millions unforeseen expences (depences imprevues).

15,505000, francs expended in negotiations (pour frais des negotiations).

Let those who complain of the show and prodigality of princes, who libel the expences attending monarchical governments; who praise the simplicity and economy of republican administrators; who speak of the absurdity of hereditary sovereignty, and of the advantage of electing rulers—let them read the above authentic extract, and then say what France has gained by exchanging an ancient monarchy for a fashionable commonwealth, a Bourbon for a Buonaparte *.

* The Author sent this extract of the Livre Rouge to the Editor of the well conducted papers the British Press and the Globe; and it appeared in them both, August 13th, 1803.

People who have not resided for some time in revolutionary France, can form no idea of the disorder that reigns in her finances, of the uncertainty and insecurity of property, of the total want of confidence, of the scarcity of money, of the immorality and crimes of her government, and of the vices and slavery of her inhabitants. Of France it may truly be said, for these last eleven years, that

> Her slaves are soldiers, and her soldiers slaves!
> Her knaves are rulers, and her rulers knaves.

And in fact, any upstart in place or in affluence, who is even notoriously known to have committed murders and assassinations, let him, besides, have intrigued, robbed, betrayed or plundered ever so much, *is respected as an irreproachable character.* Many good and innocent persons have, besides, since the Revolution, been suspected, accused, judged and condemned by former factions as criminals; this has introduced a confusion in the ideas, advantageous to those really guilty and deserving punishment; and the public opinion is therefore always uncertain and hesitating about the innocence or guilt of the accused. But the immoral indifference, and cowardly baseness of the French republicans, would be incredible, was it not manifest, that notwithstanding they are convinced

vinced of the enormous crimes, both of the First Consul and of most of his senators, of his councillors of state, &c. crimes that, under a regular government, and in a country where honour, morality and religion were revered, would long ago have forced them to descend from power, and to renounce their rank and riches for a gibbet, the galleys or a prison; they continue to submit to Buonaparte as they did to Robespierre, and speak of the *great virtues* of the former in 1803, as they did of the *unparalleled humanity* of the latter in 1793. On all others, as well as on the present king of faction, the prostitution of praise, and every degree of encomiastic veneration have been bestowed. The terms peculiar to the adoration and worship of the Supreme Being, have been applied to Marat and Robespierre, as well as to Buonaparte; all alike wretches whom it was the reproach of humanity to number among men, and whom nothing but riches and power, fear or meanness, prevented those who published or proclaimed their deification, from hunting into the toils of justice, as disturbers of the peace of nations.

In a pamphlet called "*La Sainte Famille*," the following calculation is made and published, of

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the number of persons who have perished by the commands of Napoleone Buonaparte, before he was firmly seated upon the republican throne of France as a First Consul.

In December 1793, Brutus Buonaparte commanded the cannons and bayonets which killed, or rather murdered, twelve hundred men, women, and children, at Toulon. In October 1795, eight thousand men, women, and children, were butchered in the streets of Paris, by Barras Buonaparte and his satellites. During the campaigns of 1796 and 1797, in Italy and Carinthia, according to the official report in the war-office, twenty-six thousand, four hundred and sixty French citizens were killed by the enemy on the fields of battle, and nine thousand three hundred and fifty-two perished in the hospitals, of whom, the author of the pamphlet supposes, *at least, three thousand* to have been *strangled, poisoned*, or *buried alive*, by the orders of Buonaparte, after having been dangerously wounded in combating for this atrocious general. During the same campaign, according to Berthier's, and other general's reports, upwards of forty-four thousand enemies in arms were killed, besides fourteen thousand two hundred disarmed inhabitants, men, women,

women, and children, who perished in cities, towns, and villages given up to pillage, taken by storm, put under military execution, who were stabbed and shot, or burned alive as insurgents, as refractory, or as fanatics.

Buonaparte's expedition to Egypt and to Syria, and the battle of Aboukir, cost the lives of twenty-two thousand Frenchmen; forty thousand inhabitants in Egypt, and six thousand in Syria; and, according to Menou's account, thirty-six thousand Turks and English were killed by the republicans or by the climate. (The number of Frenchmen poisoned in the hospitals by the orders of Ali Buonaparte, Menou does not mention.) During the campaign of 1800, in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, and until the Peace of Luneville ensured Buonaparte's usurpation, twenty-six thousand eight hundred Frenchmen died on the fields of battle, or in the hospitals; and, according to Moreau's, Berthier's, Massena's, and Macdonald's accounts, more than double that number of enemies perished in the same campaigns. And thus upwards of three hundred thousand lives have been sacrificed to procure Buonaparte a rank and a power, of which he makes no other use but to confer an organized misery and slavery on mankind, by a continual oppres-

oppression, plunder and tyranny; by his religious and political hypocrisy as much as by his revolutionary plots, pretensions, intrigues and agitations.

Thanks to the courageous, loyal, and able, historian, Sir Robert Wilson, who, relating with a style alike pure, nervous, elevated, and clear, incontrovertible facts, has exposed the hitherto unheard, or disbelieved, atrocities of Napoleone Buonaparte, and made the world more intimately acquainted with the principles and conduct of this fortunate, but misconceived man, and proved, that neither command nor affluence, neither authority nor prosperity, neither a throne nor popularity, "*can make a villain great.*" Success has sometimes meliorated the sanguinary characters of former usurpers. The Emperor Augustus was very different from the Triumvir Octavius; but the tyranny and ferocity of Buonaparte increases with his prosperity, and the fortunate First Consul never ceases to exhibit the cruel character of the adventurer and terrorist Brutus Buonaparte at Toulon of 1793, of the jacobin and murderer Barras Buonaparte at Paris of 1795, and of the poisoner and butcher, Ali Buonaparte, at Jaffa of 1799.

Future ages, more happy, more independent, and more impartial, will do the British Nation that

that justice, and bestow on it that admiration, which, terrified by revolutionary threats, and gained over by *regicide* indemnities, some contemporaries have refused; and draw an honourable conclusion concerning the spirit, patriotism, and morality of modern Britons, from the irreconcileable hatred with which they have been distinguished by all French rebels and regicides, of all factions, of all parties and of all constitutions, by the Brissot, Danton, Marat, and Robespierre of the year one, as well as by the Talleyrand, Rœderer, Fouché, and Buonaparte of the year twelve.

As to Napoleone Buonaparte, either considered as a powerful usurper, or as a private citizen, either as a warrior, or as a politician, it has before been justly said, "That success may for inscrutable purposes, continue to attend him. Abject senates may decree him a throne, or the pantheon; but history shall render injured humanity justice, and an indignant posterity inscribe on his cenotaph:

"Illa venera colchica,
Et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas,
Tractavit."

MADAME

MADAME NAPOLEONE BUONAPARTE.

"It is the fate of beauty to be shown;
Let greatness own her, and she's mean no more."

POPE.

JOSEPHINE LA PAGERIE was married at the age of twenty-two to Viscount Alexander Beauharnois, then second major in a regiment of infantry, a place which he owed, not to his military capacity, but to his assiduity at Versailles, in the anti-chambers of favourites and ministers, and to the reputation amongst the courtiers, of being an agreeable and able dancer. The marriage of the rich Mademoiselle la Pagerie with the poor Viscount de Beauharnois, was concluded from love and affection on one part, and from interest and necessity on the other; because de Beauharnois was both in debt and some years younger than his wife. Both were born at Martinique, and educated in France, and both descended from noble but obscure or reduced families, who had transplanted themselves to the West

West Indies, in expectation of making in the colonies a fortune, to which they had neither prospect nor talents to hope or to pretend in their mother country.

Notwithstanding, soon after their marriage, Monsieur and Madame de Beauharnois were introduced at court and presented to the king and to the royal family, their usual society chiefly consisted of persons, who, like themselves, possessed some property, no claim to eminence, but great envy towards those who with riches, united distinction and favour. Both sexes of this society were as immoral citizens, as ambitious and dangerous intriguers, and the principal though indirect plotters and conspirators both against the throne and the altar, both against the privileges of the nobility and clergy, as well as against the happiness and tranquillity of Frenchmen in general. Talleyrand, Charles and Alexander La Methe, Beaumetz, La Tour Maubeuge, Sillery Flahault, were some of the persons most visited by Madame de Beauharnois and her husband; characters who have, with their ladies, more or less figured in the French revolutionary annals, who, prepared by their atheistical, disaffected and seditious conversations, and writings, the subversion of the monarchical govern-

ment, and the wretchedness of France and Europe. They were known *frondeurs*, as the French called them, or, what is the same, sticklers against the government, without cause and reason, as well as without shame, gratitude, duty, and policy. In these cotteries of the *second* class, or petty nobility, vice walked barefaced, and the sacred ties of matrimony were less respected than even in *the first* class, otherwise reported, or *rather calumniated* as the most debauched and unprincipled, though a regard to their names, and to the known virtuous character of Louis XVI. forced many of them at least, to save the appearance of virtue, or to be discreet, prudent in their vices, and to avoid all scandal and publicity, as the only means to preserve the good opinion and the favour of their prince. This was not the case with the *familiar* company of Monsieur and Madame de Beauharnois: burning with desire to become notorious, their constant and criminal endeavour was an infamous emulation to obtain applause, and to be fashionable in the immoral French capital, and to gain renown by making the public acquainted with their reciprocal intrigues, with their mutual infidelities, and with their equal refinement in vice and debauchery. The gallants of Madame de Beauharnois were there-

therefore as numerous as they were well known, and her vanity was no doubt flattered, to hear that her amours were the common topic of conversation not only at Versailles, but at Paris, in the theatres as well as in the coffee-houses. In March 1789, at the hotel of the Countess de F—, (the *bonne amie* of Talleyrand) Madame de Beauharnois said in the large circle of ladies and gentlemen assembled there, and in the presence of Mr. de Beauharnois, that, *of her several pregnancies, she could not reproach her husband with any, except the first, which ended in a miscarriage.* This sally was heard, commended, and envied by all the ladies present, and the next day by the gentlemen trumpeted about Paris, and laughed at or admired every where. Some few days afterwards, when Madame de Beauharnois appeared in her box at the opera, she was saluted with the repeated applauses of the *good* and *virtuous* Parisians, who then were preparing the moral regeneration of France, of Europe, and of the world.

Mr. de Beauharnois had about this period been chosen by the nobility of the bailiwick of Blois, a deputy to the States-General. Dazzled by this honour, and by the flattery *his friends* paid to the charms of his wife, and to the good dinners of her cook, and convinced of his own

superiority in dancing, he thought himself a man of consequence; and, to prove himself such, he determined, with impudence as dishonourable as ineffectual, in gratitude for all the favours and benefactions he had received from the generous bounty of Louis XVI. to declaim, and to declare his implacable enmity to this Sovereign and to the royal family. But, in the assembly of the States-General, afterwards called the National Assembly, when he ascended the tribune, he read his treacherous speeches with a pretension which his chilling and unfeeling voice made ridiculous, and the orator was as contemptible, as the traitor was despicable. His accomplices, La Fayette and La Methe, caused him, however, notwithstanding his want of abilities, to be elected, in June 1791, the president of this National Assembly, and as such, he signed the proclamation, addressed to the French people, when Louis XVI. was arrested at Varennes. In October, the same year, he made his peace with the court, and was promoted to an adjutant-general; and in that rank he served under General Biron, when the French troops in April 1792, were routed near Mons. He was the *patriotic* friend of La Fayette as long as he was popular; he afterwards joined his enemy and successor in popularity, Dumourier; and when

when he was proscribed, he courted Custine, whom, when proscribed in his turn, he succeeded in the command over the army of the Rhine, which place he, contrary to the wishes of the Jacobins, desired to resign, but was forced to occupy until August 1793, when the representatives of the people suspended him from all functions, and ordered him to retire above twenty leagues from the frontiers. He was soon afterwards, with his wife, arrested as suspected persons, and on the 23d of July, 1794, sent to the guillotine, as an accomplice in the imaginary conspiracy of the prisons. The day before his execution he wrote a long letter to his wife, in which he recommended to her, in true republican style, *her* children, and *in particular not to neglect to re-establish his memory and reputation, by proving* "*that* HIS WHOLE LIFE *had been consecrated to serve liberty and equality.*" This revolutionary hypocrisy of a man, who had been for twenty years a courtier, and for four only a patriot, is not surprizing, when it is considered that at this time liberty and equality were very fashionable words in republican France, and Mr. de Beauharnois no doubt intended to die as he had lived, a fashionable man. It is, however, said, that when he ascended the scaffold of the guillotine, he ex-

claimed, "*If I had served my King with the same zeal and fidelity as I have done his murderers, he would have rewarded me in a different manner.*" It is a consolation to proscribed and suffering loyalty, and an evidence that Providence does not always permit successful crime to remain unpunished, that most of the nobles who revolted against their lawful Sovereign, have either perished by the hands of *their* sovereign people, or what is worse, and more painful both to real patriots and to patriotic intriguers, are forced to live the abject slaves of the vilest of all tyrants, and to endure under a foreign usurper, a bondage as dishonourable as oppressive, after sacrificing the real liberty they enjoyed under the best of all the French kings.

During the revolutionary career of General Beauharnois, his wife lost many of her former friends, either by emigration, as the two brothers La Methe; by proscription, as Talleyrand and La Fayette; or by the guillotine, as Barnave, Sillery, and Flahault. It was therefore, when at Strasburgh in July 1793, her intention to emigrate, which her husband prevented, by sending her back to Paris, where soon after she shared imprisonment, but not the same prison, with him.

It has been said and believed every where, that

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in 1794, to save her life, Madame de Beauharnois threw herself into the arms of one of the indirect murderers both of her husband and of her king, and that she had no choice left but the impure embraces of the regicide Barras, or death from the republican guillotine. That it was not from necessity, but from a vicious habit and scandalous perversity, that she began to intrigue with Barras, was at the time well known at Paris, and may easily be proved in London. General Beauharnois was beheaded on the 23d of July, 1794, five days before the death of Robespierre, and six days before the guillotine ceased to kill in mass. Upon the 25th of Fouquier Thionville's, by order, printed lists (counted from the day which made her a widow) Madame de Beauharnois's name was inscribed *; and had not Robespierre perished, she would certainly have ascended the scaffold in her turn, and Barras was the

* After the death of Robespierre, seals were put on all the papers of the Revolutionary Tribunal, which were delivered to the Committee of Public Safety. Among these papers were found 36 lists of persons who were arrested, or suspected, and in the 36 following days, were destined for the guillotine. Barras's name was upon the ninth list, and Madame de Beauharnois's name upon the twenty-fifth. Some of these lists contained 80 names, others 60, 40, &c. but none less than 32 names; they were all signed Fouquier Thionville, public accuser, and printed during his trial.

last

last of all the conventional regicides who could have saved her, being himself marked out upon an anterior list, as one of Robespierre's first victims. Besides, when Madame de Beauharnois, on the 24th of Thermidor, or 12th of August, 1794, recovered her liberty, she was released not by Barras, but by the Parisian butcher and representative of the French people, the regicide Legendre, who *kindly protected* her for some time in his house, where she made the acquaintance both of Madame Tallien and of Barras, who, to the great disappointment of Legendre, in September the same year, caused the seals to be taken off her house in the rüe de Victoires; and to *protect* her in his turn, he occupied an apartment in her house, until he exchanged it in October 1795 for the palace of Luxemburgh, and procured her, in his accomplice Napoleon Buonaparte, an husband to cover the *embarrassed* state into which she was at that period reduced by her intimacy and connexion with him as her lover.

All those ladies of noble families in France, whose licentiousness has got the better of their duty during the Revolution (and to the honour of the sex they are not many), have made their *pretended* dangers an apology for their *real* guilt. Danger was the excuse of Madame de Fontenay,

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in marrying the regicide Septembrizer Tallien; of the Dutchess of Fleury, in divorcing to marry a gamester; of the Marchioness of Bourdemont, in marrying her coachman, and of Madame de Beauharnois, for living in adultery with the married jacobin Barras. But the revolutionary crimes of the revolutionary factions are manifest, public and numerous enough, without any augmentation from libertinism to extenuate private corruption; and if those ladies who, like the Princess of Monaco, the Dutchess of Biron, and the Marchioness de St. Luc, preferred death to infamy, deserve the warmest admiration; those who have forgot themselves, when surrounded with the examples of the martyrs of loyalty and religion, and with the scaffolds of virtue and innocence, and in those dreadful days gave loose to their vile passions, deserve to be exhibited both as a shame to themselves and as a warning to others whom future revolutions may tempt to future imitation and degradation.

Whilst Madame de Beauharnois, thus in company with Barras, consoled herself for the loss of her husband, Madame Tallien, a beautiful woman, but whose character is as depraved as her form is perfect, was the then fashionable idol of the gay, corrupt and giddy Parisians. Those two female friends

friends of Barras soon became rivals in the scandalous chronicles, in which were recorded their mutual efforts to outshine each other; to make conquests and to desert the conquered; to change lovers, as they changed their clothes; and to exhibit at the theatres, in the public walks and assemblies, their new and motley suitors, as impudently as their more than half-naked persons *.

During the years 1795 and 1796, Madame Tallien always had the precedence in the Parisian popularity and favour, and was the most fashionable idol of these times. Madame Beauharnois gained no applause or approbation when her second marriage was known. Her *choice*, Napoleone Buonaparte, was the detestation and abhorrence of all Paris, where he, two

* It is well known in France, that the naked fashion was invented in 1794, in consequence of the executioner's custom to tear off ladies' handkerchiefs and part of their gowns, to uncover their shoulders before they were guillotined. Madame Napoleone and Madame Tallien were the first who, after the death of Robespierre, shewed themselves thus naked to the public, and who invented the red wigs, shawls and handkerchiefs, in imitation of the red shirts with which the pretended conspirators against the republic of regicides, were dressed when carried to execution. It is hardly possible to invent fashions from more atrocious, or cruel occurrences. The head-dress, a la Titus, originated from the executioner cutting of the hair of those condemned to be guillotined.

months

months before, had made so many widows and orphans; and even his *brilliant* campaign of 1796 in Italy, caused the Parisians to shudder at the very name of the victor Buonaparte, whom they always remembered and regarded as a murderer. By the peace of Campo Formio, or more by the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, or 4th September, 1797, Buonaparte silenced, without reconciling, his enemies. The flatterers of his fortune caused, however, his wife to share in his triumph, and to force Madame Tallien to renounce, or at least to admit a partner upon the throne of fashion, which she for two years had occupied without any rival; and though Madame Napoleone (ci-devant de Beauharnois) was advanced in years, and never had been a beauty, the Notre Dame des Victoires, as the military called her, was more the talk of the day, than Notre Dame de Septembre, as the royalists had stiled Madame Tallien, on account of her marriage with a regicide, who was, besides, a Septembrizer.

When Buonaparte sailed for Egypt, in May 1798, he left his wife in greater affluence than he had found her in 1795: in distress at that period himself, he had married her for her property, and not from attachment to her person; but the amiable and insinuating manners

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of Madame Napoleone made, however, some impression upon an unfeeling, cruel and ambitious mind, who no doubt took that for love which could only be vanity or interest; and he left his wife, if his own letters are to be believed, *with regret*, or probably with fear that more riches, more notoriety, and more means to call the attention of the public, would make an already vain and dissolute character still more criminal. Buonaparte was not mistaken. According to the pamphlet called "La Sainte Famille," his mother's letters overtook him at Malta, with the information, "that his wife, the same day she received information of his departure from Toulon, had left Paris for Grosbois, and settled herself with her former protector Barras, who caused great complaint, and attached great scandal to the other Directors, by having deserted his duty and the Luxemburgh for his scenes of debauchery at Grosbois, where, besides several famous courtezans, were Madame Tallien, Madame Napoleone Buonaparte, Madame Killmain, Madame Guidal, General Verdier, Talleyrand, Madame Grand, &c. &c. all persons so well known, that their examples might ruin the morals of a republic, even more vicious than the French. It was in consequence of this maternal information, that Napo-

Napoleone wrote, on the 25th of July, 1798, a letter from Cairo to his brother Joseph, in which he said, "I have many domestic troubles and family vexations; the veil is entirely withdrawn: you alone remain for me upon earth; your friendship is very dear to me: nothing is wanting to make me *a complete misanthrope*, but that I should lose you, or that you should betray me. Such is my melancholy situation! *I possess all possible sentiments for this same person, whilst another reigns in her heart!* You understand what I mean." The tender-hearted, humane, unambitious Napoleone to become a misanthrope, because his *worthy* wife intrigues with the same regicide with whom she lived in open adultery when he married her: he who with *sang-froid*, if not with pleasure, had commanded the murder, poisoning, &c. of so many thousand individuals of both sexes, of all ages! this Corsican hypocrisy could probably not dupe even his so partial Corsican brother. A man at the head of forty thousand armed banditti, occupied to plunder the country and to butcher the subjects of a *friendly* and *allied* power, would make a very novel and curious misanthrope indeed!

After the issue of the battle of Aboukir was known in France, the policy of Barras got the

better of his amour, and he followed the example and conduct of the other directors, and rather shunned than courted the company of a lady whose husband, by his absurd and imprudent orders to the French Admiral, had caused the destruction of more than half the remaining French navy, which great national loss excited a general clamour and discontent all over France. Even the son of the Director Rewbell, who had long been dying of love for Mademoiselle Fanny de Beauharnois (the daughter of Madame Napoleone, *during* her first marriage), and to whom he was betrothed, broke off a match which Lord Nelson's victory had made ominous*. To augment Madame Napoleone's chagrin and humiliation, her former defeated rival, Madame Tallien, again usurped and assumed the reign of fashion, was again followed, at Tivoli, at Frescati, and in other public walks or gardens; was again exclusively admired at the directorial and ministerial assemblies; and was again applauded at the opera, and in the theatre de Feydeaux; again her

* Neither Madame nor her Napoleone can forgive Barras and Rewbell for their conduct at this period, and none of these former kings of faction have therefore been able to procure a place in the Consular Senate, though it became the common receptacle for every thing vile, vicious, corrupted, and guilty.

pictures

pictures were exposed in the Palais Royal, and in the rüe St. Honoré, and again her beauty was sung on the Boulevards, and on the theatre des Vaudeville. To console herself for so many misfortunes, which the troublesome visits of her own and her husband's creditors did not diminish, Madame Napoleone resigned the pleasures and delicious pretensions of her *boudoirs*, for the deceitful golden prospect of the gambling table, and for the petites soupées of the gamester, where Burgundy and Champagne made her often forget with herself, both Barras and Napoleone, and the rouleaus of Louis-d'ors of which an unkind fortune had deprived her. In the Spring of 1799, Madame Napoleone was reduced to such distress, that not only the diamonds and jewels that her Napoleone had conquered for her in Italy, were in the hands of pawnbrokers and usurers, but an execution in her house was only prevented by *the then anonymous* pecuniary assistance of General Moreau. If the Scandalous Chronicle is to be believed, and the reports in the Luxembourg circles were true, Madame Napoleone tried all sorts of expedients to extricate herself from her difficulties, and even to raise succours for her present wants and extravagance, upon the ruins of her former, but now faded attractive charms.

When the spoiled child of fortune, Napoleone Buonaparte, from an infamous deserter became a powerful First Consul; and when victory and the peace of Luneville and of Amiens had respected the claims of his usurpations, Madame Napoleone had not to fear any rival upon the throne of fashion, more than her husband had upon the republican throne of France. It was now, therefore, no longer a question about the petty intrigues of the petty *boudoirs*, of the petty cabals of the petty minor beauties, such as Madame Tallien, Madame Recamier, Madame Marmont: the First Consul had decreed, "that Madame Napoleone, in the castle of queens—in the apartments of queens—with the treasures of queens—and with vices and vanity above all queens—should play in a *decent* manner all the parts of a queen." To begin this task, all former familiar acquaintances were to be set aside, thereby convincing the republican world, that at the age of forty-six, Madame Napoleone was born to be a queen, to give splendour to the throne of a queen, and to do honour to the rank of a queen. Madame Tallien received, therefore, by the prefect of the Palais, Duroc, orders not to appear any longer at the castle of the Thuilleries, Madame Napoleone not being able to endure the presence

of

of a woman who had two children during her husband's absence *, no more than the First Consul, who had been a poisoner and Septembrizer *only* at Jaffa, could suffer the fraternity of his friend Tallien, who had been a regicide and Septembrizer *only* at Paris.

All old debts and demands of money, all *ancient* pretensions to familiarity, and all public complaints for *injury*, neglect, or ingratitude, were privately settled by Citizen Fouché, in the Temple at Paris, or, by his satellites, in the wilds of Cayenne.

This done, it yet remained to be instructed in the etiquettes of queens and of courts, because Madame Napoleone had only been four times in her life at the Court of Versailles, and not above an hour each time. Napoleone himself had now regular lessons from the actor Talma, to declaim and talk like a king; from Vestris, to salute and dance like a king; from Benezeth, to eat and drink

* When Duroc delivered his message, Madame Tallien said, "tell *your mistress*, that if all Paris knows that I had two children during Tallien's absence in Egypt for near four years, her miscarriage during General Buonaparte's absence of only sixteen months, has been admired by all Paris as the last efforts of nature in an old woman."—*La Sainte Famille*, page 44.

like a king; from Talleyrand, to confer and negotiate like a king; and from Segur, to smile, to sneeze, and to sneer like a king. To instruct Madame Napoleone, after long consultation with Madame Genlis, and with Madame Stael, all the former court ladies who had escaped the republican guillotine were put in a state of requisition; but, to his great disappointment, by hearing at the Thuilleries the continuance of the language of the rüe des Victoires, the First Consul discovered that those ladies conspired to make his spouse a ridiculous gossip, instead of an amiable and elegant queen. After ordering these female conspirators thirty leagues from the Thuilleries, the faithful servant of all work, Fouché, was again applied to, who by the activity of his agents of police, alias spies, found out a lady, whose patriotism to serve the cause of the Revolution, or, what is the same, the cause of Buonaparte, could not be doubted. Madame Campan (this lady's name) had in the beginning of the Revolution a place as chambermaid to the late Queen of France, which she lost in June 1791, as one more than suspected of having given La Fayette and his accomplices information concerning the preparations of Louis XVI. and Maria Antoinette, for their unfortunate journey to Varennes. Since that period, Madame Campan

pan had resided at Versailles, where she kept a republican boarding-school, and where the Sunday of the Christians had given way to the revolutionary decade, and under whose care Mademoiselle Fanny de Beauharnois had been educated for some time. The lessons of Madame Campan had a wonderful effect upon the superannuated genius, manners, and allurements of the superannuated person of Madame Napoleone, who, to the visible satisfaction of her consular husband, was in a short time as accomplished a queen as he was a king.

In the French Republic of *equality*, to be presented to this republican queen, *a certificate of presentation* at the court of his own sovereign, was as unavoidable for a foreigner, as it was necessary for him in the French Republic of *liberty*, if he wished to avoid imprisonment, or interruption on the high roads or in the streets, to be always provided *with a pass in his pocket*. The duty, discretion, and judgment of the foreign diplomatic agents, were never confided in; certificates and passes must be produced, inspected, revised and approved at the office of Talleyrand, at the prefecture over the palace, as well as at the prefecture over the police, before the drawing-room of Madame Napoleone could be entered. With such severity

rity was this regulation enforced, that when the agents from the Imperial cities, Hamburgh, Bremen, Lubeck, Frankfort and Nuremberg, demanded to bow before Madame Napoleone, before they were admitted, a whole decade passed in consultations and in deliberations; an express was sent to Versailles for Madame Campan, and to the Theatre Français for Madame Raucourt; the Court Section of the Council of State was convoked, and obliged to give their written decision, that "an exception for producing court certificates, was admissible *only* for the deputies of the Imperial cities, *because their sovereign citizens had no courts, no kings, and no queens.*"

It was after the peace of Amiens that Buonaparte first put in requisition the Senate, Council of State, Cardinals, Bishops, Judges, Tribunes, Prefects, Legislators, and his whole pack of revolutionary gentry, to praise the beauty, modesty, and virtue of his wife, as much as his own humanity, greatness and generosity. But it was between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty with England, that the First Consul, *in his wisdom*, decreed the exhibition of his wife to the best advantage, during his journies to the provinces; he therefore dragged her with him to the Italian Consulta at Lyons, in January 1802, where she was officially com-

complimented. It was, however, particularly in his journey of this year, 1803, on the coast, and in Brabant, that the most disgusting and fulsome flattery and adulation have been bestowed *in mass* upon the consular couple, and where revolutionary cardinals and bishops have sacrilegiously blasphemed our Creator, by styling an atrocious usurper His PROVIDENCE. They have scandalized all Europe, dishonoured their rank in the church, and debased their characters as citizens. They have tried to degrade the whole female sex, by repeatedly holding up Madame Napoleone as "THE MODEL OF HER SEX, *of manners as simple as her morals were pure, with innocence in her looks, and virtue in her heart* *."

Those, and other republican public functionaries, their cowardly imitators, must be consigned to infamy without vindication, for having deserted the cause of religion and virtue, and committed, against full conviction, the crime of obliterating the distinction between good and evil, innocence and guilt; and instead of opposing the encroachments of wickedness and vice, have incited their progress and celebrated their conquests.

* These were the very words of the Bishops of Rouen, Amiens, Ghent, Malines, Brussels, &c. &c.

Though

Though Madame Napoleone disposes at present of thousands of Louis-d'ors, as she did formerly of livres or shillings, she is by her extravagance in dress, and by her gambling, several millions of livres in debt. Lately at Brussels, she lost in six days, at cards and dice, fifty thousand Louis-d'ors, paid for her by the minister of the national treasury, Marbois. According to the periodical print, *Les Nouvelles a la Main*, of Vendemiaire, year xii, or October 1803, Madame Napoleone never puts on any plain gown twice, and she changes her dress four or six times every day. In the summer she makes use of four dozen of silk stockings, and three dozen of gloves, and shoes; and in the winter, she uses three dozen of the best *English* cotton stockings, and two dozen of *French* silk stockings *every week*. She never wears any washed stockings, nor puts on twice the same pair of gloves and shoes. All her *chemises* are of the finest cambric, with borders of lace that cost ten Louis-d'ors each. Six dozen of chemises with lace, are made up for her every month. Every three months she exchanges her diamonds and jewels, or has them newly set, according to the prevalent fashion. Four times in the year her plate, china, furniture, tapestry, hangings, carpets, &c. are changed according

to

to the seasons. She has ordered, as her regular establishment, two new carriages and twelve different horses every month; and of the thirty-six horses in her *private* stable, her master of the horse has a power to dispose of twelve every three decades, to be replaced by twelve others of a fashionable colour. Twelve times in the year, all persons belonging to her household receive new accoutrements, or liveries. Her own wardrobe is divided every thirty days between her maids of honour.

Madame Napoleone has four distinct established wardrobes, different diamonds, &c. for traveling, for the Thuilleries, for St. Cloud, and for Malmaison; and though she cannot reside but in one place at the same time, in the Thuilleries, as well as at St. Cloud and Malmaison, four changes of furniture, &c. are always ordered for the same period. At St. Cloud she has, at the expence of six thousand Louis-d'ors, improved the bathing cabinet of the late unfortunate queen. By touching certain springs, she can command what perfumes her caprice demands, to mix with the water; the reservoirs always containing, for fifty Louis-d'ors, the finest odours, and best perfumed waters. By handling other springs, she commands the appearance of drawings or pictures, elegant

or

or voluptuous, gay or libertine, as her fancy desires. When she wishes to leave the bath, at the signal of a bell, she is, by a mechanical invention, lifted, without moving herself from the bathing machine, into an elegant moderately warm and perfumed bed, where she is dried in two minutes; and from which she is again lifted and laid down upon a splendid elastic sofa, moved, without her stirring, by another piece of mechanism, into an adjoining cabinet for her toilet, of which the furniture and decorations cost 100,000 livres. For the improvements only, of her luxurious, though less expensive bathing cabinet, at the Thuilleries and at Malmaison, the French Republic has paid two two hundred thousand livres.

To shew her pretensions to equality with empresses and queens, Madame Napoleone bespoke and ordered at Brussels, two magnificent lace gowns, made after the pattern of one presented by the consistent Belgians to the model of her sex, her Consular Majesty. One of these gowns was destined for the Empress of Russia, and the other for the Queen of Prussia. The former, report says, has, to the great humiliation of Madame Napoleone, been declined; but the French republicans do not doubt, but that the latter will be accepted, because they remember perfectly well,

that

that the Queen of Prussia presented at Berlin, in 1799, to Buonaparte's emissary, Duroc, a scarf of the Prussian guards, and her majesty cannot therefore refuse a gown of honour offered from the *amiable* wife of Duroc's master.

As no happiness is perfect in this world, Madame Napoleone, though alike adored by her husband and by the French Republic, has numerous and serious family misfortunes to complain of. Her mother-in-law calumniates her *innocent* motives for not going regularly to confession; and her brother-in-law, Lucien, calls her an hypocrite when she talks of confessing. Her sister-in-law, Madame Murat, is a dangerous rival in extravagance and in the fashions of the day; and another sister-in-law, the Princess Borghese, ci-devant Madame Le Clerc, is an intolerable mimic of her juvenile airs, gait and dress, contrasted with her antique wrinkles, plump person, and worn out voice. Sometimes, in his moments of frenzy, when he doubts of being soon proclaimed the English first consul, even her Napoleone himself does not use her in the most tender manner. But instead of imitating her mother-in-law, who in her troubles calls her confessor and her conjurors to her assistance, Madame Napoleone sends for her cup-bearer, vulgarly called butler, to

strengthen her nerves and invigorate her courage with his all-powerful cordials, with his delicious wines, and with his no less delicious *liqueurs*; and while one Madame Buonaparte in her calamities looks up for relief to heaven, the other, more timid, more modest, with her downcast regards seeks for, and implores the consolation of her cellar and of her buffet.

Of the children Madame Napoleone had during her first marriage, two only are alive; Eugenius de Beauharnois, who is a consular colonel of the guides in the consular guard, and Fanny de Beauharnois, married to Louis Buonaparte, the younger brother of Napoleone, a consular colonel of a consular regiment of dragoons.

EUGE-

EUGENIUS DE BEAUHARNOIS.

EUGENIUS is a brutal, ill-looking, debauched young man, whom neither brilliant regimentals, the rank of his parents, nor the endeavours of his tutors, could change or prevent from being valued (as Madame de P— said) "a real sans-culottes, with the ill-fitted mask of a gentleman, possessing the vulgar manners of one of the sovereign mob, with the pretensions to be respected as a man of consequence!" At the age of twenty-two, he *modestly* prides himself on keeping *no more* than six mistresses: one of them, Mademoiselle Chameroy, an actress at the opera, was killed last year by his brutality, when in a state of pregnancy. When his mother refuses to furnish money for his profusion and licentiousness, in threatening her with the *delicate* appellation *la vieille p—* (an old w—), he boasts, that he can command what sums he wants. He lately presented Madame Clotilde, of the opera, with a watch set with diamonds, worth 30,000 livres,

to pass the night in her company, only from the childish vanity to disappoint a Russian Prince, who (according to Les Nouvelles a la Main, from which this anecdote is taken) had already paid her two hundred Louis for the same night. In 1800 he went with his regiment through Besançon, and at the Hotel Nationale, was detected in the bed of the landlady by her husband, who, after a sound horse-whipping, and after receiving his ecrin, or jewel-box, as a security for a bond of two thousand Louis-d'ors, permitted him to escape without broken limbs. The next day the national collector and departmental treasurer paid these two thousand Louis, and the jewels were restored. In this manner the *economical* government of the French Republic employs the plunders of foreign nations, and the extorted money from the enslaved and beggared French citizens.

FANNY

FANNY DE BEAUHARNOIS.

FANNY DE BEAUHARNOIS is the very reverse of her parents and her brother: amiable, unassuming, loyal and liberal. She was the victim of her mother's vanity and of her father's ambition, when she married the stupid libertine, the ill-bred Louis Buonaparte. She had numerous suitors, but her heart was betrothed to a chief of the royalists, who, if alive, endures wretchedness in the wilds of Cayenne, as a consular chastisemen; for this preference. Even Napoleone himself, *if he ever loved a woman*, loved Fanny de Beauharnois, or at least proved more than once that he was sensible of her beauty, ingenuousness and innocence; but scandal, as busy in France as every where else, dared not only to investigate but to attack her prudence. She is a royalist from principles, and has often told her father-in-law *how happy he would make her in recalling Louis XVIII. and re-establishing him a king of France and Navarre*; and the ferocious usurper has smiled at a sally from her, which would have

been instant death to any body else. Napoleone yet calls her his *petite chouane*, and he does not conceal, that he intends in his will, to declare her son with his brother, the consular successor of his republican throne.

Instead of squandering away upon dress, feasts, or gambling, the immense sums with which the First Consul presents her, she allows annuities to several distressed families ruined by the Revolution, and maintains and pays for the education of numbers of deserted children, who, like herself, have been made orphans by the republican guillotine.

Madame Fanny de Beauharnois, or, as she is commonly called, Madame Louis Buonaparte, is as modest in her dress and in her language, as beautiful in her person and accomplished in her manners; and in a vicious, corrupted country, and at a still more vicious and corrupted court, she has the courage to remain unpolluted and pure, and not to be ashamed either of her virtue or of her loyalty.

According to the Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne, Madame Napoleone has, besides payment of all expences of her wardrobe, &c. one million of livres yearly in pin-money, and her jewels, &c. are valued at only three millions, though it is well known they are of more than double that value.

Eugenius

Eugenius de Beauharnois has an annuity of six hundred thousand livres. At the marriage of his sister he received a present of three hundred thousand livres; six hundred thousand livres for his future establishment, and his debts were paid with one million two hundred thousand livres.

Fanny de Beauharnois received at her marriage six hundred thousand livres; at the birth of her child the same sum; and the same sum is allowed her as an annuity, besides presents from the First Consul, estimated, *at least*, at one million of livres per annum *.

* Many of the particulars mentioned in these Sketches of Madame Napoleone, and of her son and daughter, are found in Le Dictionnaire Biographique, in a pamphlet called La Sainte Famille, in a periodical paper called Les Nouvelles à la Main, and in the pamphlet called Le Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne, formerly Private Secretary to the First Consul.

LUCIEN BUONAPARTE.

A voir la splendeur peu commune
Donc *un faquin* est revetu
Diroit-on pas que la fortune
Veut faire enrager la vertu ?

LET those who complain of the expences of royalty, who make economy an argument for innovation, and rank a reason for a revolution; who say liberty is only found in republics, and morality and virtue hereditary in a commonwealth; let them read this short sketch of the life of a fashionable citizen in a modern republic, and then prove what France has gained by a rebellion from its legal sovereign, by changing an ancient monarchy into a military tyranny, under the appellation of a Republic.

Lucien Buonaparte, the next younger brother to Napoleone, the First Consul of France, was, in 1790, bound an apprentice to a petty retail grocer at Bastia: for some pilferings he was turned away, and joined the Marseillois Brigands, who, on the 10th of August, 1792, took and plundered

plundered the Castle of the Thuilleries, and murdered the Swiss guards, after treason had forced the unfortunate Louis XVI. and his family to leave their habitation, and seek refuge in an assembly of rebels and regicides.

As a reward for those *civic* transactions, Lucien was received a member in the clubs of the jacobins and of the cordeliers, and on the 2d, 3d, and 4th of September following, assisted Marat's and Danton's patriots *to purge the land of liberty of those aristocrats confined in the different prisons in Paris.* However young as to years, he was already so old in crime, that on the 21st of January, 1793, he was one of Santerre's *chosen* men to guard the scaffold on which his King was butchered. He was no less a favourite with Santerre's successor, Henriot; he had distinguished him at the plunders of the *aristocratical* grocers shops in March 1793, and therefore enrolled himself amongst those of Robespierre's *sans-culottes*, who forced the National Convention, on the 1st June the same year, to decree the arrest of their rival rebels of the Brissot faction.

When the virtuous, the loyal, and religious, were confined in the dungeons of regicides and atheists, it was a profitable post for crime to guard them and see them to the scaffold. Henriot therefore

fore made Lucien Buonaparte one of the *gens-d'armes*, who, during the reign of Robespierre, watched his imprisoned victims, destined to destruction, and who escorted them, after a mock trial, to the guillotine. At this time Lucien had married a strumpet of the corps called the *Furies of the Guillotine*, women who were paid forty sous a day to frequent the galleries of the Convention, of the clubs, and of the Revolutionary Tribunal, to applaud, hiss, or hoot, as ordered by Robespierre and his band of assassins; and finally, to follow, abuse, and insult the persons sent every day, *en masse*, from the *Conciergerie* prison, to be butchered on the Place de la Revolution. What has become of this *Madame Lucien*, is the family secret of the Bonapartes. Some say she died at *La Salpetriere* (a Bridewell); others, that she is there yet in confinement; and others, that she owed a premature death to the irregularities of her debauched husband*.

After the execution of Robespierre, Lucien, dreading a well-deserved punishment as one of his subaltern accomplices, fled from Paris to Nice, where his *worthy* brother Napoleone was under

* Those and other particulars are found in a pamphlet, printed at Paris by Desenne, year vii, having for title *Lucien Buonaparte, toujours le meme.*

arrest

arrest as a terrorist. The Toulon assassin, and the Paris Septembrizer, fraternized here together, until the general amnesty of the National Convention, for all revolutionary crimes, permitted the two hopeful brothers to return to Paris, the grand revolutionary theatre for ambition, intrigue, and guilt, to plot, to plunder, and to murder.

Ever since the Revolution, amnesties have encouraged crimes by impunity, and new crimes have repeatedly made new amnesties necessary; there is not one of the Corsican senators, councillors, tribunes, and other rebel functionaries, who are not indebted for their lives to one amnesty or other; who have not been in prison as criminals, denounced as plunderers, proscribed as assassins, or outlawed as conspirators, by their victorious and factious accomplices.

When Napoleone and Lucien, in the spring of 1795, went to Paris, such was their poverty, that they were obliged to make nearly the whole journey from Nice to Paris, 700 miles, on foot; and when at Paris, they together occupied a miserable garret in *ruë de Mouffalard*, for 50 sous (25 pence) per week. In revolutionary times, and in revolutionary countries, the distance is often the same from a garret to a throne, as from a throne to a scaffold.

By

By Napoleone's revolutionary connexions with Barras, Tallien, and Freron, Lucien got a place with an annual salary of 600 livres (25 pounds), as a clerk to a store-keeper at St. Maximin, in the South of France, where he married, against the consent of her parents, the daughter of an innkeeper, with a fortune of *one hundred Louis-d'ors*.

For marrying the mistress of Barras, Napoleone had been promoted by him to the rank of a General; and for the murder of the Parisians on the 6th of October, 1795, he got the command of the army of the interior. Lucien was now appointed a war-commissary at Antwerp, from which place he wrote a letter to another commissary at Cleve (published as *a curiosity* in the Gazette de Bas Rhine, May 1796), containing a most ridiculous account of Napoleone's first victory in Piedmont. In this stupid performance, the jargon is revolutionary, the principles jacobinical, and the sense, spelling, and orthography, that of a *sans-culotte*, without education and without genius. How such a man could, in four years afterwards, be chosen a member of the National Institute, would be inexplicable, had not, during the whole French Revolution, Frenchmen of letters been the first to degrade learning by their base

base conduct, and to dishonour literary societies, by electing for associates, rebels, traitors, regicides, and other ignorant and guilty upstarts.

When the victories of Napoleone had made him powerful, and the pillage of Italy enriched him, he by degrees dragged forwards the different members of his obscure, unknown, and despicable family. In the winter 1796, Lucien, for the first time, appeared at Paris, in other company than that of *sans-culottes*; but with a true Corsican impudence, he soon caused himself to be remarked for his extravagancies, noticed as an unprincipled gamester, and despised as a debauchee. Such was, however, his known ignorance, that notwithstanding all his presumption, and all the services of Napoleone, the Directory, in 1797, was under the necessity of refusing him the place of a secretary to the French embassy at the Congress at Rastadt.

The Revolution of the 4th of September, 1797, made the jacobin faction again powerful, and by its influence Lucien was, in 1798, elected a member of the Council of Five Hundred. During the absence of Napoleone in Egypt, Lucien associated only with jacobins, professed only their principles, and acted in every thing, and on all occasions, as their accomplice. He published an account of his revolutionary life, beginning

with these words: *Et moi aussi je suis jacobin, et moi aussi je fai mes preuves comme jacobin, comme citoyen sans-culottes**. His absurd speeches, as a deputy, were as violent as his associates were vile, and when a new jacobin club was instituted, in the summer of 1799, he was chosen one of its first presidents.

The flight of Napoleone from Egypt, and his return to France, neither changed Lucien's language nor behaviour; he was therefore nominated president of the Council of Five Hundred, and by the Revolution of the 18th of Brumaire, or 9th of November, 1799, in deserting the jacobins, added treachery to his other crimes. It is well known, *that the presence of mind of Lucien that day was greater than the courage of Napoleone*, and that if Lucien had not called out to the grenadiers attending Napoleone, *not to desert their general*, the dagger of Arena, or a decree of outlaw, would have put a stop to the greatness and crimes of the Buonaparte family.

When Napoleone had usurped the reins of government, he appointed Lucien minister for the

* This pamphlet, La vie Revolutionaire du Cit. Lucien Bonaparte, publié par Luimeme, chez le Normant, an vii, was, after the usurpation of his brother, bought up by the police agent, or seized by them, if refused to be sold.

home

home department, and recalled Fontanes, who had been condemned, in 1797, to transportation, to be his secretary; and it is this Fontanes who wrote all his eloquent speeches and proclamations, during his ministry.

Lucien was now in his element; he possessed the means to gratify all his degrading and cruel passions. Not a woman, whom chance exposed to his view, or caprice to his fancy, and whom money, power, violence, or intrigue, could procure, but was seduced, dishonoured, and ruined by him: neither the innocence of youth, the misfortunes of beauty, the sanctity of marriage, or the sacredness of consanguinity, were respected by him. In six months he was guilty of more crimes than all the Princes of the house of the Bourbons have been accused of in six centuries. At a ball in April, 1800, at the hotel de Richelieu, where upwards of two hundred women of fashion were present, amongst others, *two of his own sisters**, he often and loudly repeated, *here is not a woman with whom I have not intrigued!*

After the battle of Marengo, ambition got, for

* General Murat always suspected the incestuous profligacy of his brother-in-law, and this is one of Napoleone's reasons for keeping Murat in Italy. Murat has fought and wounded Lucien in two duels.

some time, the better of debauchery: Lucien imagined, because his brother could dictate to emperors, and create kings, he might easily marry into some imperial or royal family, and, as his wife was an obstacle, he gave her some ice cream, which she ate, and *died*—that she was poisoned, not only her relations, but all Paris, proclaimed.

Two days after his wife's death, five of Lucien's armed spies, carried away to his country-house, against her consent, the beautiful wife of a rich banker; she was confined there several days to console him, not for the loss of his wife, but for the refusal of his brother to marry him to some German Princess.

Lucien had long intrigued to get Fouché disgraced, and to unite the ministry of the police to the home department; but here he met with an equal, if not a superior, as well in plots as in guilt. Fouché informed Napoleone not only of Lucien's scandalous conduct, and of the public clamour against him, of his extravagant expences, and of his numerous debts, but also told him, that Lucien had spoken of his brother with contempt, and dared his power, for which, he said, Napoleone was indebted to him: the reports of Fouche's spies, proved his assertion, and Lucien was forbid the presence of his consular brother,

and

and ordered to resign his ministry; not for his vices and crimes, they were long known, but because he had been indiscreet; and, besides, by circulating a pamphlet, written by his orders by Fontanes, had discovered some family secrets, and the *arriere pensé* of Napoleone, one day to assume the imperial crown of the Gauls. By the mediation of his mother, and by the advice of Talleyrand, his disgrace was changed into a lucrative embassy to Spain, to sell Tuscany, and to plunder Portugal.

Lucien left Paris with a debt of three millions of livres, which Napoleone promised to pay, but which is yet unpaid. Some of his creditors have died after being ruined; the Temple and Cayenne have silenced the complaints of the others.

In Spain, and chiefly at Madrid, Lucien continued his debauched and vicious life: his prodigality there surprized every one; his irregularity gave offence, and his impudence disgust. He treated the king and his royal family as his equals, and the ministers and grandees as his servants; but such is the abject situation of the Continent, the dejected or abject state of many of its sovereigns, and the weakness, ignorance, or treachery of their ministers and councillors, that this revolutionary *sans-*

culotte was not only suffered, but bribed, entertained, and complimented.

By his negotiations at Madrid and with Portugal, Lucien added twenty millions of livres to the fortune of his brother, and ten to his own; he degraded royalty with a kingdom in Tuscany, and he insulted loyalty by swindling a province of Portugal.

After the peace with England, and Lucien's return to Paris, he was made a Senator, and one of the grand officers of the Legion of Honour, and he now exhibits in a style to which the most extravagant manner of living of any modern prince, brother or son to any emperor or king, cannot be compared: his jewels and diamonds are valued at upwards of three millions of livres; his cabinet of pictures cost him more than this sum; and his seraglio and debaucheries more than both these sums together*. The millions he carried with him from Spain and Portugal are expended; and, notwithstanding that his brother allows him an annuity of 1,200,000 livres, besides what he re-

* To vice Lucien refuses nothing: he bought of Madame de C—, an emigrant lady, her only daughter, a girl of fourteen, for 300,000 livres, or 12,000l. sterling. The girl died in three weeks, the victim of his brutal cruelties: her mother's infamy was the consequence of her misery and distress.

ceives

ceives from his lucrative places, he is said to be four millions in debt.

Lucien is as insolent and despotic in his present elevation, as he was formerly vile and cruel: he uses his mistresses as if they were his slaves—illiberal, ungenerous, and unfeeling; and *his friends as his mistresses*; he is a tyrant to his domestics, and a terror to all who approach him.

The glitter of affluence may dazzle the unthinking, and the renown of prosperity puzzle the weak, but Lucien's greatness can neither cover the infamy of the guilty, nor the guilt of the infamous; and his rank is unable to conceal the ignoble and base sentiments of a base and ignoble mind.

LOUIS BUONAPARTE.

Et l'on voit des comtes
mis
Comme des princes
Qui d'hier sont venus
nus
De leurs provinces.

WHEN, in 1795, through a medley of successful crimes, and of foul, forgotten deeds, Fortune was wantonly pleased to emerge Napoleone Buonaparte from the dregs of obscurity, his brother Louis was a petty clerk, with a salary of twenty pounds a year, at the petty police commissary Pierre Pierre's office at Marseilles, a notorious terrorist, married to the daughter of an innkeeper, and brother-in-law to Lucien Buonaparte, who, when a minister of the home department, promoted him to the *lucrative office* of general-commissary of police at Bourdeaux. In the autumn of 1796, Louis left Marseilles for Italy, and began his military career at the age of 18, as a chief of battalion, or lieutenant-colonel, and aid-de-camp to his brother Napoleone. In this capacity he followed him to Egypt in 1798, but

but suffering in Africa the consequences of his debaucheries in Europe, his stay there was but short, and he returned to France in October the same year, with dispatches from General Buonaparte for the Directory.

Of all the Buonapartes, not excepting either Joseph the negotiator, or Napoleone the warrior, Louis is the only one who can correctly write and spell the French language. A letter of his to his brother Joseph, dated Alexandria, July 6th, 1798, was intercepted by our cruizers. and contains some accounts of the operations of the French Army of the East, and some remarks on the inhabitants of Egypt. In speaking of the Bedouin Arabs, he says—" They are an *invincible* people, inhabiting a burning desert, mounted on the fleetest horses in the world, and full of courage. *We have treated them kindly.* They live with their wives and children in flying camps, *which are never pitched two nights together in the same place.* They are *horrible savages, and yet they have some notion of gold and silver!* a *small* quantity of it serves to excite their admiration. Yes, my dear brother, they *love* gold; (not more than the French); *they pass their lives* in extorting it from such Europeans who fall into their hands: and for what purpose? for continuing the course of life

life which I have described, and for teaching it to their children. O, Jean Jacques! (Rousseau), why was it not thy fate to see these men, whom thou callest "the men of nature?" thou would'st sink with shame, thou would'st startle with horror at the thought of having once admired them!" In speaking of the city of Alexandria, he continues, "The remarkable objects *here*, are Pompey's column, the obelisks of Cleopatra, the spot where her baths once stood, a number of ruins, a subterraneous temple, some catacombs, mosques, and a few churches. But what is still more remarkable, is the character and manners of the inhabitants. They are of a *sang-froid absolutely* astonishing. Nothing agitates them, and *death is to them what a voyage to America is to the English.* Their interior is *imposing*. The most marked physiognomies amongst us are mere children's countenances, compared to theirs." He finishes his letter with an observation that shews both the difficulty and honour of the conquest of Egypt by General Buonaparte, and of his boasted victories: "Their *forts* (says Louis) and their *artillery, are the most ridiculous things in nature*; they have not even a lock, nor a window to their houses; in a word, *they are still involved in the blindness of the earliest ages.*"

Lucien

Lucien Buonaparte often repeats, that his brother Louis *est le seul bête de la famille* (the only fool of the family), but when at the age of twenty he was able to make such observations as those contained in this letter, his sense was as good, and his instruction and judgment better, than that of Lucien himself, who, not long ago, *when a minister of the home department*, wrote to Citizen Lalande, "*to stop the eclipse of the moon until his arrival.*" It is true, that since 1798, an immoderate use of mercury has rather impaired Louis's intellects, and prevented his advancement to the rank of a general, and perhaps to that of a constable of France; but though a libertine, in common with his brothers and sisters, he has neither the crimes of Napoleone and Lucien, nor the treachery of Joseph, to reproach himself with, and is therefore less disliked in France than either of them.

In December 1799, after Napoleone had proclaimed himself the First Consul of France, Louis was nominated a colonel of a regiment of dragoons, and in October 1800, was entrusted with a political mission to the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburgh. His reception at the former was brilliant, and he was honoured by the condescension of the King and Queen to fraternize with him,

him, as if he had been the brother of a lawful King of France; so much so, that it was not only a real scandal to a number of loyal foreigners, who passed that winter at Berlin, but even to those Prussian generals, princes, and courtiers, who had witnessed the etiquette at the courts of former kings and queens. The impertinent and unbecoming familiarity of the ill-bred Louis Buonaparte, was only surpassed by the impolitic, but patient endurance of the royal family, from which this *sans-culotte*, brother of a guilty *sans culotte* usurper, took the opportunity to insult, if not to degrade, monarchy, by his ridiculous, vulgar, and audacious conversation at the table of a monarch; and by his too familiar, if not indecent behaviour before the public, when in the King's box at the opera, where he publicly and boldly dared to converse with the young and beautiful Queen, as if he had been with the old painted wife of the First Consul. Infected by a *known* infamous disease, which kept him for weeks in his lodgings, at the Hotel de Paris, he fortunately did not often repeat these scenes, which excited so much the astonishment, animadversion, and complaint of birth, rank, and loyalty. Many persons are yet of opinion, that no indemnity whatever can indemnify legal and hereditary sovereignty

vereignty for the sufferance of so many humiliations.

Before he left Berlin for the Russian frontiers, Louis was *informed* by the Russian Ambassador, Baron Krudner, that he had not yet obtained any orders from his prince *to invite* the consular brother to St. Petersburgh. The Emperor Paul, though seduced by French intriguers, dazzled by the victories of the First Consul, offended with Austria, and embroiled with England, did not forget either what he owed to himself, to his rank, to his family, to his country and to his subjects. Louis Buonaparte's journey to Russia ended therefore at Koenigsberg in Prussia, only on the Russian frontiers, from which place he expedited remittances and smuggled instructions to the emissaries of Napoleone at St. Petersburgh; and, to the great satisfaction of all loyal men, he returned to Berlin without being able to dishonour another sovereign.

After a few more weeks residence in the capital of Prussia, he was recalled to France by Napoleone, and sent to Montpellier, as Lucien said, on a mercurial (and not on a political or military) mission, preparatory to receiving the hand of the lovely Fanny de Beauharnois. His marriage with this lady is a convincing proof that he is a

greater favourite with the First Consul than Lucien, who was one of the pretenders to this accomplished beauty. The declared promise of Napoleone to bequeath to the son of Louis his Consulate, and the Sovereignty over the French Republic, has displeased all the other members of the Buonaparte family; and his numerous and valuable presents, both to Madame Louis and her husband, have excited the envy of all the Corsican relatives, who are plotting to diminish the increasing consideration of this younger brother, or rather the repeated donations to his wife.

Surrounded with every thing that can make life valuable, and existence desirable, Louis is an invalid at the age of twenty-three; and with ruined health, and a broken constitution, he cannot enjoy the blessings Providence has so liberally poured down upon him; he suffers, therefore, in the midst of his prosperity, pains and pangs unknown even to wretchedness itself, when accompanied with innocence and virtue.

According to the Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne, Louis Buonaparte received as an establishment two millions of livres; he has a yearly pension of one million two hundred thousand livres. One million of debts were paid for him in 1800 and 1801, at Berlin and in Germany; at his marriage, Napoleone

poleone presented him with six hundred thousand livres, and the same sum at the birth of his son*.

* See Le Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne; La Sainte Famille, and Les Nouvelles a la Main. As to the particulars of his residence at Berlin, the author was there, and lodged in the same hotel with him, in December 1800.

JEROME BUONAPARTE.

— Il tire de la poussière
Une race d'affreux brigands,
D'esclaves sans honneur, et de cruels tyrans,
Plus mechante que les Robespierre.

IT is a disgrace to France in particular, and to Europe in general, to be condemned to know, that such low, insignificant personages, as the different *petty* members of the *petty* Buonaparte family, are really in existence; but such unfortunately is the present degraded situation of the civilized world, that every thing concerning the race of the Corsican usurper, is inquired after with an impolitic curiosity, and read with an avidity blameable, if not culpable. The disgusting task, therefore, of exposing the *native* infamy of the Buonapartes, from the oldest of them down to the youngest, must be undertaken by loyalty, to prevent disaffection from profiting by a fashionable inquisitiveness, and augment the number of its former misrepresentations, concerning the many guilty upstarts whom the French rebellion has brought into an atrocious notoriety.

Jerome

Jerome Buonaparte, the youngest brother of the First Consul, was born in 1785. When, in 1795, Napoleone's crimes were rewarded with rank and riches, Jerome was an errand-boy in a small inn, frequented by waggoners, at Marseilles; and such was the poverty of his mother and family, that, unable to pay for his instruction, at the age of ten he could neither write nor read. In 1796, when success crowned the undertakings of the numerous army commanded by General Buonaparte in Italy, he ordered Jerome to be sent, at his expence, to a public school at Basle, in Switzerland, under the care of his sister and brother-in-law Bacchiochi, settled in that city as a petty manufacturer.

When seated upon the throne of the Bourbons, Napoleone, having made one of his brothers a negotiator, another a minister, and a third a colonel, determined that Jerome should be advanced in the navy, the only department where none of his relatives could yet pretend to shine in, or to govern. Jerome was therefore put under the particular care of Admiral Gantheaume, who considered himself *greatly honoured* on being *promoted* to the tutorship of such a *hopeful* and *distinguished* youth. Jerome accompanied this admiral during his voyage from Brest to Toulon in the spring of

1801, and in his attempt during the summer of the same year to land on the African shore some troops, as succours to General Menou in Egypt. Not being able to glorify himself with any success in this undertaking, Gantheaume tried by flattery on one brother, to extenuate his own fault or misfortune, and to lessen the consular anger of another brother. In his dispatches, the *illustrious* pupil, Jerome Buonaparte, was mentioned "as a young sea officer, who *promised* to be an *ornament* to his profession, whose *great talents* and *undaunted courage* would reflect *great honour* on the French navy."

To the shame of this *republican* courtier, it is to be mentioned, as a fact known in 1801 at Toulon, as well as at Marseilles, that during Gantheaume's cruize this year in the Mediterranean, the boy Jerome Buonaparte underwent an operation, necessitated by an infamous disease, and which probably will prevent his progeny from being first consuls or admirals in France. At the age of 16, Jerome was already plunged into vice, and exhibited ignominious proofs of early depravity; and this *Corsican ornament to his profession* shewed his *undaunted courage*, by *bravely* keeping his bed during the whole voyage.

When, after the preliminaries with England had

had been signed, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse was sent with a fleet and an army to St. Domingo; Jerome, then promoted to the rank of a lieutenant, accompanied him as one of his aid-de-camps. When safely arrived at his destination, this republican admiral, to outdo even Gantheaume in meanness, sent his first dispatches from St. Domingo to France with this boy Jerome Buonaparte, "to whose *uncommon skill, both as a naval and military officer*, he confidently referred for whatever the government (Napoleone) should think proper to know concerning the expedition to St. Domingo." By such absurd bombast, and by such dishonourable debasement, this admiral pleased the First Consul so much, that he obtained the appointment of captain-general of Martinique.

After a short stay in France, Jerome, now made a captain, obtained the command of a corvette, and was sent again with confidential dispatches to his brother-in-law General Le Clerc, at Cape François. He had now an opportunity to demonstrate his *natural* fraternity of a Napoleone and of a Lucien Buonaparte. On his arrival at the Cape, daily torments and executions of the unfortunate negroes were the orders of the day, and he found so much delight in the improve-

ments

ments by the hellish genius of a republican officer, Grenier, to prolong their sufferings, that he presented him with a ring worth twelve thousand livres; whilst he sent to prison another officer, who forgot to call him up one morning when 262 of the negroes were half burnt before they were sawed to pieces. At his arrival his *virtuous* sister, Madame Le Clerc, had presented him with a beautiful mulatto-woman, for a mistress, to keep him *sage*, as she said: this girl was descended from respectable parents, and had received a better education than was common in St. Domingo, since the Revolution. One afternoon, in a fit of jealousy, Jerome ordered her to be devoured alive by some famished blood-hounds, which he always kept for his entertainment, and was present to witness his atrocious orders executed!!! This abomination surprized even Madame Le Clerc, who, *as a punishment, did not admit her brother to her table the day following.* A brother of this unfortunate girl, a lieutenant in the republican service, being refused the satisfaction he demanded for this crime, in despair deserted over to the Blacks, but was recaptured, and condemned by General Le Clerc to be shot from the mouth of a *cannon.* Every thing that the fancy or passion of Jerome fixed upon, he put into requisition for his use.

The

The day after the murder of one mistress, he *sent orders* to the daughter of a white planter *to fill up the vacant place*; she preferred, however, poison to the embraces of such a young monster; but by disappointing his vile passion, she caused the death of her father, and the ruin of her family; the former being shot upon the denunciation of Jerome, who accused him of corresponding with the negroes, and his property was confiscated for the use of the Republic, or rather of the Buonaparte family. Another day, when he observed an American merchant in an elegant English phaeton, drawn by four English horses, he ordered him to descend, and when he refused, four of General Le Clerc's guides dragged the American from his carriage, which Jerome afterwards appropriated to his own use. After the war with England, when he bravely deserted over to the American continent, this merchant attacked Jerome before the American tribunals, to be paid for his plundered property *.

* Some of the particulars of Jerome's conduct at St. Domingo, the Author has from a respectable American gentleman, who was *an eye-witness* to what is related, and which has already been published in the American Papers. Of Jerome's earlier *education*, see La Sainte Famille; and of his sea expedition, see Les Nouvelles à la Main, and the Moniteur.

Jerome Buonaparte now resides at Baltimore, with an American, named Joshua Barney, who, by piracy and plunder, under the famous Santhonax, has accumulated several millions of livres. This is the same Barney who commanded, during the last war, an American ship called the Sampson, with which he privateered, without any commission, and for which he was tried and condemned at Jamaica as a pirate, but escaped the gallows by flight. He was afterwards made a commodore in the French service, and kept at Paris, as a mistress, a cousin of Madame Buonaparte, by whom he had two children, but whom he afterwards left in distress, which caused him to be dismissed from the French navy. It is therefore hardly possible that Jerome can be in more suitable company than that of Citizen Barney.

The official Moniteur lately published the *official republican truth*, that Citizen Jerome, in his retreat to America, sunk an English ship of superior force. Many think it *very modest* of the editor not to let this *noble* youth sink a whole English squadron in the Moniteur, which might have procured the First Consul an occasion of appointing at once his worthy brother a lord high admiral of the French Republic.

According to the Livre Rouge, Jerome has a yearly

yearly pension, until married, of six hundred thousand livres; for an hotel and two estates in the country, at his future establishment, one million and a half are allotted; and one million is deposited in foreign banks for his use. Of what value the presents are which he receives from his consular brother, may be concluded from the known anecdote, of his having shewn an English officer at Jamaica a watch set with jewels, which he, with *true Corsican impudence*, said, cost the bagatelle of ten thousand Louis-d'ors *only*.

MAD. BACCHIOCHI, OR BACIOCHI.

MADAME BACCHIOCHI, the eldest sister of the First Consul, married in 1788 a countryman of her's, Bacchiochi, who with a capital of twelve thousand livres (500l. sterling), had established a cotton manufactory at Basle in Switzerland. This match was at that period regarded in her country as a brilliant one for the petty and poor Buonaparte family. Before her marriage, she had done all the drudgery of a dairy maid on the small farm rented by her parents near Ajaccio, in Corsica.

Mr. Bacchiochi is a good honest man, more fit to head the mechanics of a manufactory than to shine in the revolutionary manufactory governed by Napoleone Buonaparte; and as he hitherto has committed no crime to acquire celebrity, he is despised by all the Buonapartes, even his own wife not excepted; and it surprizes all France, that before now, a dose of the same preparation which made Lucien in 1800 a widower, has not already made Madame Bacchiochi a widow and a princess.

Madame

Madame Bacchiochi's character has great resemblance to that of her mother; she is both superstitious and devout, both licentious and religious; she intrigues and confesses, wears the hair of her lovers, and the relics of saints; she kneels before the holy picture of St. Francis, in ogling the profane portrait of her lover on her bosom; all her appointments are in churches, where, in adoring her Creator, she gazes and smiles at her admirer. Her love-letters are the common talk of Paris, because she preaches to the sinner, when she intends to flatter the lover.

Before the fortune and grandeur of Napoleone turned her head, she was the best of daughters, sisters, wives, and mothers; and she yet fulfils all these different duties better than any of her sisters, and in Corsica she is respected as the most virtuous of them all, because, like her mother, she had *only one child* before her marriage.

According to the Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne, she has received from the First Consul, as an establishment, one million of livres; jewels, &c. to the amount of six hundred thousand livres, two hundred thousand livres in annuities for several of her husband's relations, and she enjoys besides a yearly pension of six hundred thousand livres.*

* See La Sainte Famille, and Les Nouvelles à la Main, with the Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne.

THE PRINCESS SANTA CRUCE.

WHEN, in 1796, success crowned Buonaparte's army in Italy, the Princess Santa Cruce was an assistant to Madame Rambaud, a mantua-maker at Marseilles, with whom she had for six years been an apprentice, and in the keeping of a soap manufacturer, a married man, in that city, of the name of Julien, by whom she had two children. In 1797, she and the present Madame Murat accompanied her brother Joseph to Rome, where he was appointed by the Directory the ambassador of the French Republic. The irresistible arms of Napoleone convinced the *patriotic* Roman prince, Santa Cruce, of the all-subduing and irresistible attractions of his sister, and she was made a princess within twelve months after she had been a mantua-maker, and commanded in an elegant hotel in a short time after she had left off serving in a shop.

Married into this revolutionary family, the Prince Santa Cruce tried to become a revolutionar

tionary hero: when the plots and intrigues of Joseph Buonaparte had effected a revolution at Rome in 1798, he was therefore made a Roman general, and commander of the Roman National Guard, and in fighting against the Neapolitan troops under General Mack, in 1799, he had his leg shot off. This weak and rebellious prince is as ignorant as he is disloyal, and notwithstanding his name and his riches, his *crowned* head and his wooden leg, his rank and patriotism, he is the continual object of the jokes of the consular courtiers, of the epigrams of the republican wits, and alike despised and despicable.

Madame Santa Cruce, when she is in health, laughs at her mother's devotion, but at the least complaint or illness she sends sooner for her mother's confessor than for her husband's physician; when well, her conversation is blasphemous, when ill, edifying; prosperity makes her an atheist—wretchedness would probably make her a Christian, if not a saint. Her mother often repeats, that the Princess Santa Cruce will never be saved if she does not die in an hospital.

Bourrienne, in the Livre Rouge, says, that Madame Santa Cruce has obtained as an esta-

blishment, from her brother Napoleone, one million of livres, presents in jewels, &c. worth six hundred thousand livres, one hundred thousand livres as annuities to two of her husband's relations, and that she has besides a yearly pension of six hundred thousand livres.

MADAME

MADAME MURAT.

WHEN, in December 1797, *the honest man of the Corsican family*, Joseph Buonaparte, had integrity and loyalty enough to cause General Duphot to be murdered, in order to furnish a pretext for the pillage of Rome, and for the subversion of the Papal Government, his sister, the present Madame Murat, was betrothed to this general, one of the most frantic jacobins, and the confidential friend of Napoleone.

Madame Murat had been an apprentice to the mantua-maker Madame Rambaud at Marseilles, as well as her sister, the Princess Santa Cruce, but in 1794 left that city with an actor from Paris, Baptist, who not being able to provide for her wants, recommended her to a mantua-maker in the rüe de Montmartre. She had by this actor two children, of whom one is yet alive, and educated by the father, formerly an intimate friend of Napoleone.

In 1800 the First Consul presented the hand

of this his *modest* sister to the *virtuous* General Murat, who had accompanied him to Egypt, deserted with him from Egypt, assisted him to dethrone his benefactors, the Directors, and commanded his guard when a consul.

General Murat is the son of a corporal in the former guard at Paris, called the *Guet*, and was, in 1790, a soldier in the regiment of Flanders; from which he deserted; and in 1792, after assisting in the attack on the 10th of August, of the defenceless castle of the Thuilleries, and, on the 2d of September, in the murder of the defenceless prisoners in the Abbey and other prisons, he was, by the recommendation of Marat, made a captain, and as such, in 1793, employed in the revolutionary army. At the murder of his patron Marat, to immortalize the name of that apostle of French liberty, equality, and humanity, he proposed in the Jacobin Club to change his name for that of Marat. He is now Buonaparte's commander in chief in Italy, where, by pillage and extortion, he has amassed ten millions of livres.

During Buonaparte's campaign in Egypt, the scandalous chronicle of Paris said, that the present Madame Murat cohabited with her brother Lucien, and had a child by him; and as the depraved Lucien had himself publicly boasted of this

this infamy, he has been three times challenged by General Murat, and twice wounded by him, without disavowing or apologizing for his crime.

Madame Murat is affection and affectation itself. All rebels of all countries are her heroes, and a republic her wishes during the day, and her dreams in the night. Liberty is in her mouth, equality in her heart, and fraternity on her garters. A cap of liberty decorates her hotel, and a tree of liberty her court-yard. In her drawing-room are the busts of Gracchus, Brutus, Cato, Brissot, Marat, and Robespierre. In her bed-room, those of Machiavel, Cromwell, and Napoleone. In talking of liberty and equality, she is a despot in her house; she is arrogant with her friends, commanding with her companions, and a tyrant over her lovers. In her dress, manners, and pretensions, she is an aristocrat, and often a successful rival with her sister-in-law Madame Napoleone.

To prevent the probably fatal consequences of the jealousy of General Murat against his brother-in-law Lucien, Napoleone sent Madame Murat to reside with her husband at Milan, where, notwithstanding the great honours shewn her by the Italians, she regretted Paris, and regarded herself, as she wrote to the First Consul, "*as transported to*

the

the European Cayenne," and therefore tormented him with her letters until he recalled her "*to her dear, dear Paris.*" As General Murat does not so much as formerly inspect his wife's conduct, many think that indifference has succeeded jealousy, and that he truly knows the real value of her precious person, and honourable sentiments. Her suitors are now very numerous, and in their number, the most ridiculous of all, is the old debauched senator Rœderer, who, according to Les Nouvelles à la Main, by turns sighs and laughs, sings and cries, writes love letters, and prints tender or flattering verses.

In his Journal de Paris of the 31st last October (1803), Rœderer, *in despair*, wrote the following quatrain, addressed to her husband:

VERS ADRESSES AU GENERAL MURAT.

Adore Caroline*, et regne sur son cœur;
L'Amour avec orgueil peut dire a la victoire,
Qu'il sut faire pour ton *bonheur*
Autant qu'elle fit pour ta gloire.

Besides one thousand Louis-d'ors pin-money allowed her *by the month* by her husband, or rather *by the Italian Republic*, she has, according to Bourrienne's Livre Rouge, received for an esta-

* Carolina is the name of Madame Murat.

blishment,

blishment, one million of livres, in presents, jewels, &c. six hundred thousand livres, annuities to five of her husband's relations, two hundred thousand livres, and she enjoys besides a yearly pension of six hundred thousand livres*.

* See La Sainte Famille, Les Nouvelles a la Main, and the Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne.

THE

THE PRINCESS BORGHESE,

CI-DEVANT MADAME LECLERC.

Raisonner est l'emploi de toute demi-raison:
Et le raisonnement en bannit la raison. MOLIERE.

"I do not want a God more than a God wants me;" these blasphemous words are often in the pretty mouth of the present princess Borghese, the youngest sister of the First Consul. Instead of acknowledging with gratitude the undeserved goodness of a Providence, *that* from a prostitute has made her a princess, and upon the pinnacle of fortune's temple, remembering with repentance and shame the misery of the night cellar; alike vicious, impious, and scandalizing in affluence as in wretchedness, she bids defiance to the power of her Creator; she insults the hope of the religious as well as the consolation of the moralist, and augments the afflictions of suffering innocence by encouraging or extenuating the infamy of prosperous crime. Hypocrisy of every kind is bad,

bad, but the hypocrisy of Napoleone's atheism is monstrous, because it adds cowardice to guilt. It is, however, difficult to say which is the most dangerous in a corrupted nation, an atheist upon an usurped throne preaching christianity, or an amiable, fashionable, and popular woman, spreading about, almost by his side, the desolating and dangerous tenets of atheism, particularly as this woman is known to be his *favourite* sister.

At the age of fourteen, the Princess Borghese, then Pauline Buonaparte, ran away from her mother's house with a Sardinian corporal and deserter, Cervoni, and, until Napoleone's usurpation, in 1799, when she, according to the pamphlet La Sainte Famille, was found covered with rags and disease, in a house of ill fame in the rüe St. Honoré, her relations were entirely ignorant of what was become of her. To reward the *patriotic* services of an accomplice at Toulon, as well as in Italy and at Jaffa, Napoleone permitted the notorious terrorist General Le Clerc, son of a miller, to marry this worthy *princess of his blood*, who, besides the usual sums of money allotted each consular sister, received as a portion, first, the command over the army in Portugal, and the plunder of that kingdom, and afterwards the com-

command of the expedition to St. Domingo, and a colony to pillage, enslave, and ruin.

In December 1801, Madame Le Clerc sailed with her husband for St. Domingo, and witnessed all the atrocities of this republican proconsul: though she possessed an uncommon influence over this ferocious character, neither his treason against the unfortunate Toussaint, nor the shocking torments and punishments he inflicted on those negroes whom his conduct had made desperate, were prevented by her; on the contrary, if the already quoted pamphlet is to be believed, she often enjoyed, and even commanded, as an amusement, the disgusting sight of mutilated blacks, roasted alive; or devoured alive by her husband's faithful allies, the Spanish blood-hounds. Her only occupation, besides, was to gather and heap up new treasures, from the daily, if not hourly extortions, requisitions, and confiscations of her husband, and after his death, accompany her ill-begotten riches to France. During her voyage, she condescended to accept the consolation of a colonel for the loss of a general, and to permit the continuance of the services of one of Le Clere's former aid-de-camps, which forced her to put off for near six months her nuptials with the *patriotic* Roman Prince Borghese, who

no

no doubt obtained her *chaste* hand from the First Consul Buonaparte, in France, as an *indemnity* for the property the Borghese family had lost by the plunder of General Buonaparte in Italy.

Though the German princes are more numerous, less rich, but as selfish as the Italian, their pride has got the better of their egotism, and they have not dishonoured their rank by courting or marrying the vicious sisters of a culpable usurper. Prince Borghese, as well as his countryman, the Prince Santa Cruce, had no reason to be so nice, because he had proclaimed his patriotic treachery before the bans of his sans-culotte marriage were published. He was, in 1798 and 1799, an active citizen under the short-lived Roman Republic; and to prove his principles of equality, condescended, with the Prince Colonna, the Duke di Montelibretto, and other Roman nobles, "to serve as a common soldier in a corps, of which the captain was a man who sold tripe and dog's meat in the streets." He was, in 1798, a member of a jacobin club, which the French conferred upon the Romans in compensation for the loss of liberty, religion, and property. This club was established in the palace of the Duke of Altempt, where, as in France, the sons denounced their parents: noyades were recommended, priests pro-

scribed, and a proposition made, "to begin the regeneration of Rome *by putting to death all people aged above sixty*, as incapable, through the obstinacy of old age, of renouncing their ancient prejudices."

Persons who were present at the nuptial of the Prince Borghese and Madame Le Clerc, affirm, that their behaviour during the religious ceremony, when Cardinal Caprara gave the marriage blessing, was such as to cause even this tool of Napoleone to blush, notwithstanding all the former hypocritical and sacrilegious scenes he had witnessed, since he began to assist the First Consul in organizing a revolutionary religion in the French commonwealth.

In Les Nouvelles a la Main, of Brumaire, year xii, it is said that the First Consul declared *in public*, that considering the situation of the republican treasury, he could not do what he wished for the *dearest* of his sisters, to whom, and to whose husband, when surrounded by courtiers in the drawing-room, he offered presents of little value; but *in secret*, when *en famille*, the new married couple received from him in drafts upon Spain and Portugal, in jewels, &c. to the amount of four million of livres, besides an *ecrin*, or jewel-box, presented by Madame Napoleone, contain-

containing jewels worth half a million. The fortune General Le Clerc left his widow is calculated to be at least six millions, so that this daughter of a sans-culotte brought her princely husband a princely fortune.

At her former marriage, according to the Livre Rouge, by Bourrienne, the now Princess Borghese obtained one million of livres for an establishment, half a million for going to St. Domingo, three hundred thousand livres as annuities for some of her husband's relations, presents, jewels, &c. for six hundred thousand livres, and she enjoys the same sum of six hundred thousand livres as a yearly pension during her life *.

* See La Sainte Famille; Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie: Les Nouvelles a la Main, and Le Livre Rouge by Bourrienne.

KILLING NO MURDER;

BRIEFLY DISCOURSED IN

THREE QUESTIONS.

BY WILLIAM ALLEN.

And the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was quiet, after that they had slain Athaliah with the sword. 2 Chron. xxiii. 21.

Now after the time that Amaziah did turn away from following the Lord, they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem, and he fled to Lachish; but they sent to Lachish after him, and slew him there. 2 Chron. xxv. 27.

IT has been considered as an appropriate Appendage to this Work, to republish the celebrated Pamphlet of "Killing no Murder," one of the most singular controversial pieces the political literature of our country has to boast; one of those happy productions which are perpetually valuable, and which, whenever an Usurper reigns, appears as if written at the moment, and points with equal force at a Protector—or a Consul.

The Author of this Work was Silas Titus, afterwards colonel in the service of Charles II. He published it surreptitiously under the assumed name of William Allen, in 1657. It was industriously spread by the royalists, and it is certain, occasioned the Protector great alarm and the most serious apprehension. It is not only an admirable composition for all readers, but it particularly addressed at that time, those religious fanatics whose political movements were regulated by the scripture history;

history; so that Oliver was not only attacked by *human*, but also by *divine* authority. A vein of wit and humour runs through the most solid argument and the acutest reasoning. A story current at that day is probably true: Oliver was some time in suspense whether it did not become him to prefer his own hand to be his own executioner than to fall by an ignobler one. This Work, as Anthony Wood gravely asserts, "offers many convincing and satisfying reasons why he should kill himself, and very fairly gives him his choice of hanging, drowning, or pistoling himself; shews him the absolute necessity of it, the honour he would gain by it, and, in a word, uses such arguments as might have prevailed on any one but a hardened rebel."

TO HIS HIGHNESS

OLIVER CROMWELL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

HOW I have spent some hours of the leisure your Highness hath been pleased to give me, this following paper will give your Highness an account: how you will please to interpret it I cannot tell, but I can with confidence say, my intention in it is, to procure your Highness that justice no body yet does you, and to let the people see the longer they defer it, the greater injury they do both themselves and you. To your Highness justly belongs the honour of dying for the people; and it cannot choose but be an unspeakable consolation to you in the last moments of your life, to consider with how much benefit to the world you are like to leave it. 'Tis then only, my Lord, the titles you now usurp will be truly yours; you will then be indeed the deliverer of your country, and free it from a bondage little inferior to that from which Moses deliver'd his: You will then

be that true reformer which you would now be thought; religion shall then be restored, liberty asserted, and parliaments have those privileges they have fought for: we shall then hope that other laws will have place besides those of the sword, and that justice shall be otherwise defined, than the will and pleasure of the strongest; and we shall then hope men will keep oaths again, and not have the necessity of being false and perfidious to preserve themselves, and be like their rulers. All this we hope from your Highness's happy expiration, who are the true father of your country; for while you live, we can call nothing ours, and it is from your death that we hope for our inheritances: let this consideration arm and fortify your Highness's mind against the fears of death, and the terrors of your evil conscience, that the good you will do by your death, will somewhat balance the evils of your life. And if in the black catalogue of high malefactors, few can be found that have lived more to the affliction and disturbance of mankind, than your Highness hath done, yet your greatest enemies will not deny, but there are likewise as few that have expired more to the universal benefit of mankind, than your Highness is like to do. To hasten this great good, is the chief end of my writing this

paper;

paper; and if it have the effects I hope it will, your Highness will quickly be out of the reach of men's malice, and your enemies will only be able to wound you in your memory, which strokes you will not feel. That your Highness may be speedily in this security, is the universal wishes of your grateful country: these are the desires and prayers of the good and of the bad, and it may be, is the only thing wherein all sects and factions do agree in their devotions, and is our only common prayer. But amongst all that put in their requests and supplications for your Highness's speedy deliverance from all earthly troubles, none is more assiduous nor more fervent than he, that with the rest of the nation hath the honour to be,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness's present slave and vassal,

W. A.

To all those Officers and Soldiers of the Army, that remember their Engagements, and dare be honest.

I HEARTILY wish, for England's sake, that your number may be far greater than I fear it is; and that his Highness's frequent purgations may have left any amongst you, that by these characters are concerned in this dedication. That I and all men have reason to make this a doubt, your own actions, as well as your tame sufferings, do but too plainly manifest. For you, that were the champions of our liberty, and to that purpose were raised, are not you become the instruments of our slavery? And your hands, that the people employed to take off the yoke from our necks, are not those the very hands that now do put it on? Do you remember that you were raised to defend the privileges of parliament, and have sworn to do it; and will you be employed to force elections, and dissolve parliaments, because they will not establish the tyrant's iniquity, and our slavery by a law? I beseech you, think upon what you have promised, and what you do; and give not posterity, as well as your own generation, the occasion to mention you with infamy, and to curse that unfortunate valour and

success of yours, that only hath gained victories (as you use them) against the Commonwealth. Could ever England have thought to have seen that army that was never mentioned without the titles of religious, zealous, faithful, courageous, the fence of her liberty at home, the terror of her enemies abroad, become her gaolers? Not her guard, but her oppressors? Not her soldiers, but a tyrant's executioners, drawing to blocks and gibbets all that dare be honester than themselves? This you do, and this you are; nor can you ever redeem your own honour, the trust and love of your country, the estimation of brave men, or the prayers of good, if you let not speedily the world see, you have been deceived; which they will only then believe, when they see your vengeance upon his faithless head that did it. This if you defer too long to do, you will find too late to attempt, and your repentance will neither vindicate you, nor help us. To let you see you may do this as a lawful action, and to persuade you to it as a glorious one, is the principal intent of this following paper; which, whatever effects it hath upon you, I shall not absolutely fail of my ends; for if it excites not your virtue and courage, it will yet exprobate your cowardice and baseness. This is from one that was once one amongst you, and will be so again, when you dare be as you were.

'KILLING

KILLING NO MURDER, &c.

IT is not any ambition to be in print, when so few spare paper and the press, nor any instigations of private revenge or malice (though few that dare be honest now want their causes), that have prevailed with me to make myself the Author of a Pamphlet, and to disturb that quiet which at present I enjoy, by his Highness's great favour and injustice. Nor am I ignorant to how little purpose I shall employ that time and pains, which I shall bestow upon this paper. For to think that any reasons or persuasions of mine, or convictions of their own, shall draw men from any thing wherein they see profit or security, or to any thing wherein they fear loss, or see danger, is to have a better opinion both of myself and them, than either of us both deserve.

Besides, the subject itself is of that nature, that I am not only to expect danger from ill men, but censure and disallowance from many that are good; for these opinions only looked upon, not looked into (which all have not eyes for), will appear

pear bloody and cruel; and these compellations I must expect from those that have a zeal, but not according to knowledge. If, therefore, I had considered my self, I had spared whatever this is of pains, and not distasted so many, to please so few as are in mankind (the honest and the wise.) But at such a time as this, when God is not only exercising us with a usual and common calamity, of letting us fall into slavery that used our liberty so ill; but is pleased so far to blind our understandings and to debase our spirits, as to suffer us to court our bondage, and to place it amongst the requests we put up to him; indignation makes a man break that silence, that prudence would persuade him to use; if not to work upon other men's minds, yet to ease his own.

A late Pamphlet tells us of a great design discovered against the person of his Highness, and of the Parliament's coming (for so does that Junto profane that name), to congratulate with his Highness, his happy deliverance from that wicked and bloody attempt. Besides this, that they have ordered that God Almighty shall be mocked with a day of thanksgiving (as I think the world is with the plot), and that the people shall give public thanks for the public calamity, that God is yet pleased to continue his judgments upon them, and to frustrate all means that are

used

used for their deliverance. Certainly none will now deny, that the English are a very thankful people. But I think if we had read in Scripture, that the Israelites had cried unto the Lord, not for their own deliverance, but the preservation of their task-masters, and that they had thanked God with solemnity that Pharaoh was yet living, and that there was still great hopes of the daily increase of the number of their bricks: though that people did so many things, not only impiously and profanely, but ridiculously and absurdly; yet certainly they did nothing we should more have wondered at, than to have found them ceremoniously thankful to God for plagues, that were commonly so brutishly unthankful for mercies; and we should have thought that Moses had done them a great deal of wrong, if he had not suffered them to enjoy their slavery, and left them to their tasks and garlick.

I can with justice say, my principal intention in this paper is not to declaim against my Lord Protector or his accomplices, for were it not more to justify others than to accuse them, I should think their own actions did that work sufficiently, and I should not take pains to tell the world what they knew before: my design is, to examine whether, if there hath been such a plot as we hear of, and that it was contrived by Mr. Sindercombe

against

against my Lord Protector, and not by my Lord Protector against Mr. Sindercombe (which is doubtful); whether it deserves those epithets Mr. Speaker is pleased to give it, of bloody, wicked, and proceeding from the Prince of Darkness. I know very well how uncapable the vulgar are of considering what is extraordinary and singular in every case, and that they judge of things, and name them by their exterior appearances, without penetrating at all into their causes or natures; and without doubt when they hear the Protector was to be killed, they straight conclude a man was to be murdered, not a malefactor punished; for they think the formalities do always make the things themselves, and that 'tis the judge and the crier that makes the justice, and the gaol the criminal. And therefore when they read in the pamphlet Mr. Speaker's speech, they certainly think he gives these plotters their right titles, and as readily as a high court of justice, they condemn them, without ever examining whether they would have killed a magistrate, or destroyed a tyrant, over whom every man is naturally a judge and an executioner, and whom the laws of God, of nature, and of nations expose, like beasts of prey, to be destroyed as they are met.

That

That I may be as plain as I can, I shall first make it a question (which indeed is none), Whether my Lord Protector be a Tyrant or not? 2dly, If he be, whether it is lawful to do justice upon him without solemnity, that is, to kill him? 3dly, If it be lawful, whether it is likely to prove profitable or noxious to the Commonwealth?

The civil law makes Tyrants of two sorts; *tyrannus sine titulo*, and *tyrannus exercitio*: the one called a tyrant because he hath no right to govern; the other, because he governs tyrannically. We will briefly discourse of them both, and see whether the Protector may not with great justice put in his claim to both titles.

We shall sufficiently demonstrate who they are that have not a right to govern, if we show who they are that have; and what it is that makes the power just, which those that rule have over the natural liberty of other men. To fathers within their private families, Nature hath given a supreme power. Every man, says Aristotle *, of right governs his wife and children; and this power was necessarily exercised † every where, whilst families lived dispersed ‡, before the

* Pol. l. i. c. 1. † Gen. xxxiv. 24. ‡ Arist. Pol. l. i.

con-

constitutions of Commonwealths; and in many places is continued after, as appears by the laws of Solon, and the most ancient of those of Rome. And indeed, as by the laws of God* and Nature, the care, defence, and support of the family lies upon every man whose it is; so, by the same law, there is due unto every man from his family, a subjection and obedience, in compensation of that support. But several families uniting themselves together to make up one body of a Commonwealth, and being independent one of another, without any natural superiority or obligation, nothing can introduce amongst them a disparity of rule and subjection, but some power that is over them, which power none can pretend to have but God and themselves†: wherefore all power which is lawfully exercised over such a society of men (which, from the end of its institution, we call a Commonwealth), must necessarily be derived either from the appointment of God Almighty, who is Supreme Lord of all and every part, or from the consent of the society itself, who have the next power to his, of disposing of their own liberty as they shall think fit for their own good. This power God hath given to societies of men, as well as he

* 1 Tim. v. 8. † Vide Hooker, Eccl. Pol. l. i. c. 10.

gave

gave it to particular * persons, and when he interposes not his own authority, and appoints not himself who shall be his Vicegerents and rule under him; he leaves it to none but the people themselves to make the election, whose benefit is the end of all government. Nay, when he himself hath been pleased to appoint rulers for that people, which he was pleased particularly to own; he many times made the choice, but left the confirmation and ratification of that choice to the people themselves. So Saul† was chosen by God, and anointed king by his prophet, but made king by all the people at Gilgal‡. David was anointed king§ by the same prophet; but was afterwards, after Saul's death, confirmed by the people of Judah ‖, and seven years after by the elders of Israel¶, the people's deputies, at Chebron: and it is observable, that though they knew that David was appointed king by God and anointed by his prophet, yet they likewise knew that God allowed to themselves not only his confirmation, but likewise the limitation of his power; for before his inauguration they made a league ** with him; that is, obliged him by compact to the performance of such conditions as they thought necessary for the securing

* Exod. xxi. 5. † 1 Sam. x. 1. ‡ Ib. xii. 2. § Ib. xvi. 14. ‖ 2 Sam. ii. 4. ¶ Ib. v. 3. ** Ib. v. 11.

their liberty. Nor is it less remarkable, that when God gives directions to his people concerning their government, he plainly leaves the form to themselves; for he says not, when thou shalt have come into the land which the Lord thy God gives thee, *Statues super te regem*; but, *si* * *dixeris statuam*: God says not, thou shalt appoint a king over thee; but if thou shalt say, I will appoint, leaving it to their choice whether they would say so or no. And it is plain in that place, that God gives the people the choice of their king, for he there instructs them whom they shall choose, *E medio fratrum tuorum*, one out of the midst of thy brethren: much more might we say, if it were a less manifest truth, that all just power of government is founded upon these two bases of God's immediate command, or the people's consent. And therefore, whosoever arrogates to himself that power, or any part of it, that cannot produce one of those two titles, is not a ruler, but an invader, and those that are subject to that power, are not governed, but oppress.

This being considered, have not the People of England much reason to ask the Protector this question; *Quis constituit te virum principem & judicem super nos?* Who made thee a prince and

* Deut. xvii. 14.

a judge

a judge over us? if God made thee, make it manifest to us: if the people, where did we meet to do it? Who took our subscriptions? To whom deputed we our authority? And when and where did those deputies make the choice? Sure these interrogations are very natural, and, I believe, would much trouble his Highness's Council and his Junto to answer. In a word, that I may not tire my reader (who will not want proofs for what I say, if he wants not memory): if to change the government, without the people's consent: if to dissolve their representatives by force, and disannul their acts: if to give the name of the people's representatives to confederates of his own, that he may establish iniquity by a law: if to take away men's lives out of all course of law, by certain murtherers of his own appointment, whom he names A High Court of Justice: if to decimate men's estates, and by his own power to impose upon the people what taxes he pleases, and to maintain all this by force of arms: if, I say, all this does make a tyrant, his own impudence cannot deny but he is as complete a one, as ever hath been since there have been societies of men. He that hath done, and does all this, is the person for whose preservation the people of England must pray; but certainly if they do, it is for the same reason that the old woman of Syracuse prayed for the long life of

the tyrant Dionysius, lest the Devil should come next.

Now, if instead of God's command, or the people's consent, his Highness hath no other title but force and fraud, which is to want all title; and if to violate all laws, and propose none to rule by, but those of his own will, be to exercise that tyranny he hath usurped, and to make his administration conformable to his claim; then the first question we proposed is a question no longer.

But before we come to the second, being things are more easily perceived and found by the description of their exterior accidents and qualities, than the defining their essences; it will not be amiss to see, whether his Highness hath not as well the outward marks and characters by which tyrants are known, as he hath their nature and essential properties: whether he hath not the skin of the lion and tail of the fox, as well as he hath the violence of the one and deceit of the other. Now, in this delineation which I intend to make of a tyrant, all the lineaments, all the colours, will be found so naturally to correspond with the life, that it cannot but be doubted, whether his Highness be the original or the copy; whether I have in drawing the tyrant represented him, or, in representing him, expressed a tyrant: and therefore, lest I should be suspect-

ed

ed to deal unsincerely with his Highness, and not to have applied these following characters, but made them, I shall not give you any of my own stamping, but such as I find in Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus, and his Highness's own Evangelist, Machiavel.

1. Almost all tyrants have been first captains and generals for the People, under pretences of vindicating and defending their liberties. *Ut imperium evertant libertatem preferunt; cum everterunt, ipsam aggrediuntur,* says Tacitus †, to subvert the present Government, they pretend liberty for the People; when the Government is down, they then invade that liberty themselves: This needs no application.

2. Tyrants accomplish their ends much more by fraud than force. Neither virtue nor force (says Machiavel ‡) are so necessary to that purpose, as *una Astutia fortunata*, a lucky craft; which, says he §, without force, has been often found sufficient, but never force without that.—

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* The marks of a tyrant, Arist. Pol. l. v. c. 10. Vid. Mach. Discor. lib. i. cap. 40.

† An. lib. i. Idem alibi cæterum libertas et speciosa nomina prætexuntur, nec quisquam alienum servitium, et dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet.

‡ Mach. Discor. lib. ii. cap. 13. Il Princ. c. 9.

§ Disc. lib. ii. cap. 13.

And, in another place *, he tells us their way is *Aggirare Icerville de gli huomini con Astutia*, &c. With cunning plausible pretences to impose upon men's understandings, and in the end they master those that had so little wit as to rely upon their faith and integrity.

'Tis but unnecessary to say, that had not his Highness had a faculty to be fluent in his teams, and eloquent in his execrations; had he not had spongy eyes and a supple conscience, and, besides, to do with a people of great faith, but little wit; his courage, and the rest of his moral virtues, with the help of his janissaries, had never been able so far to advance him out of the reach of justice, that we should have need to call for any other hand to remove him but that of the hangman.

3. They abase all excellent persons, and rid out of the way all that have noble minds; *et terræ filios extollunt*, and advance sons of the earth.

To put Aristotle into other words, † They purge both parliament and army, till they leave few or none there that have either honour or conscience, either wit, interest, or courage, to oppose their designs. And in these purgations; saith Plato ‡,

* Princ. c. 18. † Arist. Pol. l. v. c. 11. ‡ Plato de Rep. lib. viii.

tyrants

tyrants do quite contrary to physicians; for they purge us of our humours, but tyrants of our spirits.

4. They dare suffer no assemblies, not so much as horse-races.

5. In all places they have their spies and dilators; that is, they have their Fleetwoods, their Broughals, their St. Johns, besides innumerable small spies, to appear discontented, and not to side with them, that, under that disguise, they may get trust, and make discoveries: they likewise have their emissaries to send with forged letters. If any one doubt this, let him send to Major-general Brown, and he will satisfy him.

6. They stir not without a guard, nor his Highness without his life-guard.

7. They impoverish the people, that they may want the power, if they have the will, to attempt any thing against them. His Highness's way is by taxes, excise, decimations, &c.

8. They make war to divert and busy the people *, and besides to have a pretence to raise monies and to make new levies, if they either distrust their old forces, or think them not sufficient †. The war with Spain serveth his Highness to this purpose; and upon no other justice was it begun at first, or is still continued.

* Arist. Pol. l. v. c. 11. † Arist. ibid. Id. ib. et Plato de Rep. lib. ix. Id. ibid. Arist. ibid. Mach. Pr. c. 19.

9. They

9. They will seem to honour, and provide for good men; that is, if the ministers will be orthodox and flatter; if they will wrest and torture the Scripture to prove his government lawful, and furnish him with a title; his Highness will likewise be then content to understand Scripture in their favour, and furnish them with titles.

10. * Things that are odious and distasteful, they make others executioners of; and when the people are discontented, they appease them with sacrificing those ministers they imply †. I leave it to his Highness's major-generals to ruminate a little upon this point.

11. In all things they pretend to be wonderful careful of the public, to give general accounts of the money they receive, which they pretend to be levied for the maintenance of the state and the prosecution of the war. His Highness made an excellent comment upon this place of Aristotle, in his speech to this Parliament ‡.

12. All things set aside for religious uses they set to sale, that, while those things last, they may

* Machiavel adds, "And do grateful things themselves." But that I omit; for I really am unprovided of an instance for his Highness, for I have not yet heard of any good he has done himself. † Arist. ibid. Plato de Repub. lib. viii. Id. et Plut. passim.

exact

exact the less of the people. The cavaliers would interpret this of the dean and chapter's lands.

13. They pretend inspirations from gods, and responses from oracles, to authorize what they do; his Highness hath been ever an enthusiast. And as Hugh Capet *, in taking the crown, pretended to be admonished to it in a dream by St. Valery and St. Richard, so I believe his Highness will do the same, at the instigation of S. Henry and S. Richard, his two sons.

14. Lastly, above all things, they pretend a love to God and religion. This Aristotle calls *artuæ tyrannicaræ potissimam*; the surest and best of all the arts of tyrants; and we all know his Highness hath found it so by experience. He hath found, indeed, that in godliness there is great gain, and that preaching and praying, well managed, will obtain other kingdoms as well as that of Heaven. His, indeed, have been pious arms, for he hath conquered most by those of the church by prayers and † tears. But the truth is, were it not for our honour to be governed by one that can manage both the spiritual and temporal sword, and, Roman like, to have our emperor our high

* Hist. of France, ibid. lib. v. c. 11. † Preces et lacrymæ sunt arma Ecclesiæ.

priest,

priest, we might have had preaching at a much cheaper rate; and it would have cost us but our tythes, which now costs us all.

Other marks and rules there are mentioned by Aristotle to know tyrants by; but they being unsuitable to his Highness's actions, and impracticable by his temper, I insist not on them; as, among other things, *Aristotle would not have a tyrant insolent in his behaviour, nor strike people. But his Highness is naturally choleric, and must call men rogues, and go to cuffs. At last he concludes he should so fashion his manners, as neither to be really good nor absolutely bad, but half one half t'other. Now this half good is too great a proportion for his Highness, and much more than his temper will bear.

But to speak truths more seriously, and to conclude this first question — Certainly, whatever these characters make any man, it cannot be denied but his Highness is; and then, if he be not a tyrant, we must confess we have no definition nor description of a tyrant left us, and may well imagine there is no such thing in Nature, and that 'tis only a notion and a name. But if there be such a beast, and we do at all believe what we see

* Pol. l. v. c. 11.

and

and feel, let us now inquire, according to the method we proposed, whether this be a beast of game that we are to give law to, or a beast of prey, to destroy with all means that are allowable and fair?

In deciding this question *, authors very much differ, as far as it concerns supreme magistrates, who degenerate into tyrants. Some think they are to be borne with, as bad † parents, and place them in the number of those mischiefs ‡ that have no other cure but our patience; others think they may be questioned by that supreme law of the people's safety, and that they are answerable to the people's representatives for the breach of their trust. But none, of sober sense, make private persons judges of their actions; which were indeed to subvert all good government. But, on the other side, I find none that hath not been frighted or corrupted out of their reason, that hath been so great enemies to common justice and the liberty of mankind, as to give any kind of indemnity to a usurper, who can pretend no title but that of being stronger, nor challenge the people's obedience upon any other obligation but that of their necessity and fear.

* Whether it be lawful to kill a tyrant? † Ames parentem si æquus est; si non feras. ‡ Sicut sterilitatem, aut nimios imbres, &c, Tacit.

Such

Such a person, as one out of all bounds of human protection, all men make the Ishmael* against whom is every man's hand, as his is against every man. To him they give no more security than Cain, his fellow murderer and oppressor, promised to himself, to be destroyed by him that found him first.

The reason why a tyrant's case is particular, and why in that every man hath that vengeance given him, which in other cases is reserved to God and the magistrate, cannot be obscure, if we rightly consider what a tyrant is, what his crimes are, and in what state he stands with the Commonwealth, and with every member of it. And certainly, if we find him an enemy to all human society, and a subverter of all laws, and one that by the greatness of his villanies secures himself against all ordinary course of justice; we shall not at all think it strange, if then he have no benefit from human society, no protection from the law, and if, in his case, justice dispenses with her forms. We are therefore to consider that the end for which men enter into society, is not barely to live, which they may do dispersed, as other ani-

* Gen. xvi. 12.

mals,

mals, but to live happily, and a life answerable to the dignity and excellency of their kind. Out of Society this happiness is not to be had; for singly we are impotent and defective, unable to procure those things that are either of necessity or ornament for our lives; and as unable to defend and keep them when they are acquired. To remedy these defects, we associate together, that what we can neither enjoy nor keep singly, by mutual benefits and assistances one of another, we may be able to do both. We cannot possibly accomplish these ends, if we submit not our passions and appetites to the laws of reason and justice; for the depravity of man's will makes him as unfit to live in society, as his necessity makes him unable to live out of it: and if that perverseness be not regulated by laws, men's appetites to the same things, their avarice, their lust, their ambition, would quickly make society as unsafe, or more, than solitude itself; and we should associate only to be nearer our misery and our ruin. That, therefore, by which we accomplish the ends of a sociable life, is our subjection and submission to laws; these are the nerves and sinews of every society or commonwealth, without which they must necessarily dissolve and fall asunder. And, indeed, as

Augustin says *, those societies where law and justice is not, are not commonwealths or kingdoms, but *magna latrocinia*, great confederacies of thieves and robbers: those, therefore, that submit to no law, are not to be reputed in the society of mankind, which cannot consist without a law: therefore Aristotle † saith, tyranny is against the law of Nature, that is, the law of human society, in which human nature is preserved. For this reason, they deny a tyrant to be *partem civitatis*; for every part is subject to the whole; and a citizen, says the same author ‡, is he who is as well obliged to the duty of obeying, as he is capable of the power of commanding: and, indeed, he does obey whilst he does command; that is, he obeys the laws, which, says Tully, *magistratibus præsunt, ut magistratus præsunt populo*, are above the magistrates, as the magistrates are above the people. And therefore a tyrant that submits to no law but his will and lust, are the law by which he governs himself and others, is no magistrate, no citizen, or member of any society, but an ulcer, and a disease that destroys it; and if it be rightly considered, a commonwealth, by falling into a tyranny, absolutely loses that name, and is actually another thing. *Non est civitas quæ unius est*

* De Civit Dei. † Pol. l. iii. c. 12. ‡ L. iii. c. 8.

viri,

viri, says Sophocles; that which is one man's is no city; for there is no longer king and people, or parliament and people, but those names are changed, at least their natures, into masters and servants, lords and slaves; and *servorum non civitas erit sed magna familia*, says Grotius*, where all are slaves, 'tis not a city, but a great family. And the truth is, we are all members of Whitehall, and, when our Master pleaseth, he may send for us thither, and there bore through our ears at the door-posts. But, to conclude, a tyrant, as we have said, being no part of a commonwealth, nor submitting to the laws of it, but making himself above all law, there is no reason he should have the protection that is due to a member of a commonwealth, nor any defence from laws, that does acknowledge none. He is therefore, in all reason, to be reckoned in the number of those savage beasts that fall not with others into any herd, that have no other defence but their own strength, making a prey of all that's weaker, and, by the same justice, being a prey to all that's stronger than themselves.

In the next place, let it be considered, that a

* De Jure Belli, l. iii. c. 8.

tyrant making himself above all law, and defending his injustice by a strength which no power of magistrates is able to oppose, he becomes above all punishment, above all other justice than that he receives from the stroke of some generous hand; and certainly the safety of mankind were but ill provided for, if there were no kind of justice to reach great villanies, but tyrants should be *immunditie scelerum tuti*, secured by the greatness of their crimes. Our laws would be then but cobwebs indeed, made only to catch flies, but not to hold wasps or horners; and it might be then said of all commonwealths that was said to Athens, that there, only small thieves were hanged, but the great ones were free, and condemned the rest. But he that will secure himself of all hands, must know he secures himself from none; he that flies justice in the court, must expect to find it in the street; and he that goes armed against every man, arms every man against himself. *Bellum est in eos, qui judiciis coerceri non possunt*, says Cicero—we have war with those against whom we can have no law. The same author, *cum duo sint decertandi genera*, &c. There being two ways of deciding differences, the one by judgment and arbitration, the other by force; the one proper to men, the other to beasts; we must have recourse to the latter when the former

mer cannot be obtained*: and certainly, by the law of Nature, *ubi cessat judicium*, when no justice can be had, every man may be his own magistrate, and do justice for himself; for the law, says Grotius†, that forbids me to pursue my right but by a course of law, certainly supposes, *ubi copia est judicii*, where law and justice is to be had; otherwise, that law were a defence for injuries, not one against them; and, quite contrary to the nature of all laws, would become the protection of the guilty against the innocent, not of the innocent against the guilty. Now, as it is contrary to the laws of God and nature‡, that men who are partial to themselves, and therefore unjust to others, should be their own judges, where others are to be had; so is it as contrary to the law of nature, and the common safety of mankind, that when the laws can have no place, men should be forbidden to repel force by force, and so be left without all defence and remedy against the injuries. God himself left not the slave without remedy against the cruel master: and what analogy can it hold with reason, that the slave, that is but his master's money, and but part of his household stuff, should find redress against the injuries and insolences of an im-

* Grot. de Jure Belli, l. i. c. 8. † Ib. ‡ Deut. xvii.

perious master* ; and a free people, who have no superior but their God, should have none at all against the injustice and oppression of a barbarous tyrant? And were not the incongruity full as great, that the law of God† permitting every man to kill a thief, if he took him breaking open his house in the night; because then it might be supposed he could not bring him to justice: but a tyrant, that is, the common robber of mankind, and whom no law can take hold on, his person should be *sacrosanct*, *cui nihil sacrum aut sanctum*, to whom nothing is sacred, nothing inviolable! but the vulgar judge ridiculously like themselves: the glister of things dazzles their eyes, and they judge of them by their appearances, and the colours that are put on them. For what can be more absurd in nature, and contrary to all common sense, than to call him thief, and kill him, that comes alone, or with a few to rob me; and to call him Lord Protector, and obey him, that robs me with regiments and troops? As if to rove with two or three ships were to be a pirate, but with fifty, an admiral? But if it be the number of adherents only, not the cause, that makes the difference between a robber and a protector,

* Exod. xxi. † Exod. xxii. 2.

I wish

I wish that number were defined, that we might know where the thief ends and the prince begins, and be able to distinguish between a robber and a tax. But sure no Englishman can be ignorant, that it is his birth-right to be master of his own estate, and that none can command any part of it but by his own grant and consent, either made expressly by himself, or virtually by a parliament. All other ways are mere robberies in other names: *Auferre, Trucidare, Rapere, falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant** ; to rob, to extort, to murder, tyrants falsely called to govern, and to make desolation, they call to settle peace: in every assessment we are robbed; the excise is robbery; the customs robbery; and without doubt, whenever it is prudent, it is always lawful to kill the thieves, whom we can bring to no other justice: and not only lawful, and to do ourselves right, but glorious, and to deserve of mankind, to free the world of that common robber, that universal pirate, under whom, and for whom, the lesser beasts prey. This fire-brand I would have any way extinguished; this ulcer I would have any hand to lance; and I cannot doubt but God will suddenly sanctify some hand to do it,

* Tacit. in Vit. Agric.

and

and bring down that bloody and deceitful man, who lives not only to the misery, but the infamy of our nation.

I should have reason to be much less confident of the justice of this opinion, if it were new, and only grounded upon collections and interpretations of my own. But herein, if I am deceived, I shall however have the excuse to have been drawn into that error, by the examples that are left us by the greatest and most virtuous, and the opinions of the wisest and gravest men, that have left their memories to posterity. Out of the great plenty of confirmations I could bring for this opinion from examples and authorities, I shall select a very few; for manifest truths have not need of those supports; and I have as little mind to tire myself as my reader.

First, therefore, a Usurper, that by only force possesseth himself of government, and by force only keeps it, is yet in the state of war with every man, says the learned Grotius*: and therefore every thing is lawful against him, that is lawful against an open enemy, whom every private man hath a right to kill†. *Hostis hostem occidere volui,* says Scævola to Porsenna, when he was taken, af-

* Orat. de Jure Bell. lib. i. c. 4. † Luc. lib. ii.

ter

ter he had failed in his attempt to kill him; I am an enemy, and an enemy I would have killed, which every man hath a right to do.

Contra publicos hostes, et majestatis reos, omnis homo miles est, (says Tertullian). Against common enemies, and those that are traitors to the commonwealth, every man is a soldier: this opinion the most celebrated nations have approved both by their laws and practices. The Grecians, as Xenophon tells us, who suffered not murderers to come into their temples, in those very temples they erected statues to those that killed tyrants, thinking it fit to place their deliverers amongst their gods. Cicero was an eye-witness of the honours that were done such men, *Græci homines, &c.** The Greeks (saith he), attributed the honours of the gods to those that killed tyrants: what have I seen in Athens and other cities of Greece! What religion paid to such men! what songs! what eulogies! by which they are consecrated to immortality, and almost deified! In Athens, by Solon's law †, death was not only decreed for the tyrant that oppressed the State, but for all those that took any charge ‡, or did

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* Pro Milone. † Plut. in Solon. ‡ Let his Highness's Junto mark this.

bear

bear any office while the tyranny remained. And Plato tells us*, the ordinary course they took with tyrants in Greece: if (says he) the tyrant cannot be expulsed by accusing him to the citizens, then by secret practices they dispatch him.

Amongst the Romans the Valerian Law was†, *si quis injussu populi, &c.* Whosoever took magistracy upon him, without the command of the people, it was lawful for any man to kill him. Plutarch makes this law more severe‡, *Ut injudicatum occidere cum liceret, qui dominatum concupisceret.* That it was lawful by that law, before any judgment past, to kill him that but aspired to tyranny. Likewise the Consular Law, which was made after the suppression of the tyranny of the Decemvirate, made it lawful to kill any man that went about to create magistrates, *sine provocatione, &c.* without reference and appeal to the people. By these laws, and innumerable testimonies of authors, it appears that the Romans, with the rest of their philosophy, had learned from the Grecians, what was the natural remedy against a tyrant: nor did they honour these less that durst apply it. Who, as Polybius says (speaking of conspiracies against tyrants),

* Repub. lib. viii. † In Public. ‡ Ibid.

were

were not *deterrimi civium, sed generosissimi quique, & maximi animi* *; not the worst and meanest of the citizens, but the most generous, and those of the greatest virtue: so were most of those that conspired against Julius Cæsar; he himself thought Brutus worthy to succeed him in the empire of the world. And Cicero, who had the title of *Pater Patriæ*, if he were not conscious of the design, yet he at least affected the honour of being thought so: *Quæ enim res unquam, &c.* † What act, says he, O Jupiter, more glorious! more worthy of eternal memory, hath been done not only in this city, but in the whole world! In this design, as the Trojan horse, I willingly suffer myself to be included with the princes. In the same place he tells what all virtuous Romans thought of the fact as well as he: *Omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt: aliis consilium: aliis animus: aliis occasio defuit, voluntas nemeni:* all good men (saith he) as much as lay in them, killed Cæsar: some wanted capacity; some courage; others opportunity; but none the will to do it. But yet we have not declared the extent of their severity against a tyrant: they exposed him to fraud as well as force, and left him no

* Hist. lib. vi. † Philip 2.

security

security in oaths and compacts, that neither law nor religion might defend him that violated both. *Cum Tyranno Romanis nulla fides, nulla jurisjurandi Religio*, saith Brutus in Appian*; with a tyrant the Romans think no faith to be kept, observe no religion of an oath; Seneca gives the reason, *Quia quicquid erat, quo mihi cohereret, &c.* † For whatever there was of mutual obligation betwixt us, his destroying the laws of human society hath dissolved, so these that thought that there was *in hostem nefas*, that a villany might be committed against an enemy: these that professed, *Non minus juste quam fortiter arma gerere* ‡, to manage their arms with justice as well as courage: these that thought faith was to be kept even with the perfidious; yet they thought a tyrant could receive no injustice, but to be let live; and that the most lawful way to destroy him was the readiest, no matter whether by force or fraud; for against beasts of prey men use the toyle and the net, as well as the spear and the lance. But so great was their detestation of a tyrant, that it made some take their opinions from their passions, and vent things which they could but ill justify to their

* Appian. lib. vii. † Senec. de Benef. ‡ Id.

morality;

morality; they thought a tyrant had so absolutely forfeited all title to humanity, and all kind of protection they could give him or his, that they left his wife without any other guard for her chastity but age and deformity; and thought it not adultery what was committed with her. Many more testimonies might I bring; for 'tis harder to make choice than to find plenty. But I shall conclude with authorities that are much more authentic, and examples we may much more safely imitate.

The law of God itself decreed certain * death to that man that would do presumptuously, and submit to no decision of justice. Who can read this, and think a tyrant ought to live? But certainly neither that, nor any other law, were to any effect, if there were no way to put it in execution. But in a tyrant's case, process and citation have no place, and if we will only have formal remedies against him, we are sure to have none. There's small hopes of justice where the malefactor hath a power to condemn the judge.

All remedy, therefore, against a tyrant, is Ehud's dagger, without which all our laws were fruitless, and we helpless. This is that high

* Utique moriatur vir ille, Deut. xvii. 12.

court of justice where Moses brought the Egyptian, whither Ehud brought Eglon, Samson the Philistines, Samuel Agag, and Jehoiada the she-tyrant Athaliah.

Let us a little consider in particular these several examples, and see whether they may be proportioned to our purpose.

First, as to the case of Moses and the Egyptian: Certainly every Englishman hath as much call as Moses, and more cause than he, * to slay this Egyptian that is always laying on burthens, and always smiting both our brethren and ourselves. For as to his call, he had no other that we read of, but the necessity his brother stood in of his help. He looked on his brethren's burthens, and seeing an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, knowing he was out of the reach of all other kind of justice, he slew him. Certainly this was, and is as lawful for any man to do, as it was for Moses, who was then but a private man, and had no authority for what he did, but what the law of Nature gives every man, to oppose force to force, and to make justice where he finds none. As to the cause of that action, we have much more to say

* Exod. ii. 11, 12.

than

than Moses had; he saw one Hebrew smitten—we many Englishmen murdered; he saw his brethren's burthens and their blows—we our brethren's burthens, imprisonments, and deaths. Now, sure if it were lawful for Moses to kill that Egyptian that oppressed one man, being there was no way to procure an ordinary course of justice against him, it cannot be but absurd to think it unlawful to kill him * that oppresses a whole nation, and one that justice as little reaches as it defends.

The example of Ehud shews us the natural, and almost the only remedy against a tyrant, and the way to free an oppressed people from the slavery of an insulting Moabite; it is done by prayers and tears, with the help of a dagger, by † crying to the Lord, and the left hand of an Ehud. Devotion and action go well together; for, believe it, a tyrant is not of that kind of devil that is to be cast out by only fasting and prayer: and here the Scripture shews us what the Lord thought a fit message to send a tyrant from himself—a dagger of a cubit in his belly; and every worthy man

* Vid. Et Governador Christiano. cap. viii. p. 40. † Qualquiere ciudadano me de repeter la fuerca, &c.

that desires to be an Ehud, a deliverer of his country, will strive to be the messenger *.

We may here likewise observe in this, and many places of Judges, that when the Israelites fell to idolatry †, which of all sins certainly is one of the greatest, God Almighty, to proportion the punishment to the offence, still delivered them into the hands of tyrants, which sure is one of the greatest of all plagues.

In the story of Samson it is manifest ‡, that the denying him his wife, and after the burning her and her father, which, though they were great, yet were but private injuries, he took for sufficient grounds to make war upon the Philistines, being himself but a private man, and not only not assisted, but opposed by his servile countrymen §. He knew what the law of Nature allowed him, where other laws have no place, and thought it a sufficient justification for smiting the Philistines hip and thigh, to answer for himself; that as they did unto him, so had he done unto them.

Now, that which was lawful for Samson to do against many oppressors, why is it unlawful

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* Judg. c. iii. v. 11, 19, 20. † Ibid. v. 20. ‡ Ibid. v. 14. § Ibid. v. 11.

for

for us to do against one? Are our injuries less? Our friends and relations are daily murdered before our faces: have we other ways for reparation? Let them be named, and I am silenced; but if we have none, the fire-brands, or the jaw-bone, the first weapons our just fury can lay hold on, may certainly be lawfully employed against that uncircumcised Philistine that oppresses us. We have, too, the opposition and discouragements, that Samson had, and therefore have the more need of his courage and resolution. As he had the men of Judah, so we have the men of Levi, crying to us out of the pulpit, as from the top of the rock Etam, Know you not that the Philistine is a ruler over you? * The truth is, they would fain make him so, and bind us with Samson in new cords; but we hope they will become as flax, and that they will either loose from our hands, or we shall have the courage to cut them.

Upon the same grounds of retaliation did Samuel do justice with his own hand upon the tyrant Agag: As thy sword (says the prophet) hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless amongst women. Nor is there any law more natural and more just †.

* Judg. c. iii. v. 14. † 1 Sam. xv. 33.

How many mothers has our Agag, for his own ambition, made childless? How many children fatherless? How many have this reason to hew this Amalekite in pieces before the Lord? And let his own relations, and all theirs that are confederates with him, beware, lest men come at last to revenge their own relations in them *. They make many a woman husbandless, and many a father childless. Their wives may come at last to know what it is to want a husband, and themselves to lose their children. Let them remember what their great apostle Machiavel tells them, that in contestations for the preserving their liberty, people many times use moderation; but when they come to vindicate it, their rigour exceeds all mean; like beasts that have been kept up, and are afterwards let loose, they always are more fierce and cruel.

To conclude with the example Jehoiada hath left us †: Six years he hid the right heir of the crown in the house of the Lord, and, without all doubt, amongst the rest of God's services, there he was all that time contriving the destruction of the tyrant that had aspired to the crown by the detruction of those that had the right to it ‡. Je-

* In Discors. † 2 Kings, c. xi. ‡ 2 Chron. xxiii.

hoiada

hoiada had no pretence to authorize this action, but the equity and justice of the act itself: he pretended no immediate command from God for what he did, nor any authority from the Sanedrim, and therefore any man might have done what Jehoiada did as lawfully, that could have done it as effectually as he. Now what citation was given to Athaliah, what appearance was she called to before any court of justice? her fact was her trial; she was, without any expostulation, taken forth of the ranges *, and only let live till she got out of the temple, that that holy place might not be defiled by the blood of a tyrant, which was fitter to be shed on a dung-hill; and so they slew her at the Horse-gate. And by the King's House, the very Whitehall, where she had caused the royal blood to be spilt, and which herself had so long unjustly possessed, there, by Providence, did she receive her punishment, where she had acted so great a part of her crimes. How the people approved of this glorious action of destroying a tyrant, this chapter tells us at the last verse: "And all the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was quiet, after that they had slain Athaliah with the sword" †. And that it may ap-

* 2 Chron. xxiii. 14. † Ibid. 21.

pear

pear they no less honoured the authors of such actions than other nations did, as in his lifetime they obeyed Jehoiada as a king, so, after his death, for the good he had done in Israel (saith the Scripture) they likewise buried him amongst the kings*.

I must not conclude this story without observing, that Jehoiada commanded, that whosoever followed Athaliah should be put to death; letting us see what they deserve that are confederates with tyrants; and will side with them; and but appear to defend them, or allow them his Highness's council, his junto, and the agaes of his janissaries, may, if they please, take notice of this, and repent, lest they likewise perish†. And likewise his Highness's chaplains and tryers, who are to admit none into the ministry that will preach liberty with the gospel, may, if they think fit, observe, that with the tyrant fell Mattan the priest of Baal. And indeed, none but Baal's priests will preach for tyrants: and certainly those priests that sacrifice to our Baal, our idol of a magistrate, deserve as well to be hanged before their pulpits, as ever Mattan did to fall before his altars‡.

I should think now I had said much more

* 2 Chron. xxiv. 16. † Mr. Sindercomb's Judge and Jury may likewise consider of this point. ‡ 2 Chron. xxiii. 17.

than

than enough to the second question, and should come to the third and last I proposed in my method; but I meet with two objections lying in my way; the first is, that these examples out of Scripture are of men that were inspired of God, and that therefore they had that call and authority for their actions, which we cannot pretend to, so that it would be unsafe for us to draw their actions into examples, except we had likewise their justifications to alledge.

The other objection is, that there being now no opposition made to the government of his Highness, that the people following their callings, and traffic at home and abroad, making use of the laws, and appealing to his Highness's courts of justice: that all this argues the people's tacit consent to the government; and that therefore now it is to be reputed lawful, and the people's obedience voluntary.

To the first I answer with learned Milton, that if God commanded these things, it is a sign they were lawful, and are commendable. But secondly, As I observed in the relations of the examples themselves: neither Samson nor Samuel alledged any other cause or reason for what they did, but retaliation, and the apparent justice of the

the actions themselves. Nor had God appeared to Moses in the bush when he slew the Egyptian; nor did Jehoiada alledge any prophetical authority or other call to do what he did, but that common call which all men have, to do all actions of justice that are within their power, when the ordinary course of justice ceases.

To the second my answer is, That if commerce and pleadings were enough to argue the people's consent, and give tyranny the name of government, there was never yet any tyranny of many weeks standing in this world. Certainly, we then extremely wrong Caligula and Nero in calling them tyrants, and they were rebels that conspired against them; except we will believe, that all the while they reigned, that in Rome they kept their shops shut, and opened not their temples, or their courts. We are likewise with no less absurdity to imagine, that the whole eighteen years time which Israel served Eglon, and six years that Athaliah reigned, that the Israelites quite desisted from traffic, pleadings, and all public acts; otherwise Ehud and Jehoiada were both traitors, the one for killing his king, the other his queen.

Having showed what a tyrant is, his marks and practices, I can scarce persuade myself to say any

any thing to that I made my third question, whether the removing him is like to prove of advantage to the commonwealth or not? For methinks it is to inquire, whether it is better the man die or the impostume be lanced, or the gangrened limb be cut off? But yet there be some whose cowardice and avarice furnish them with some arguments to the contrary; and they would fain make the world believe, that to be base and degenerate, is to be cautious and prudent; and what is in truth a servile fear, they falsely call a christian patience. It will not be therefore amiss to make appear, that there is indeed that necessity which we think there is, of saving the vineyard of the Commonwealth, if possible, by destroying the wild boar that is broke into it.—We have already shewed that it is lawful, and now we shall see whether it is expedient. First, I have already told you, That to be under a tyrant is not to be a Commonwealth, but a great family, consisting of master and slaves. *Vir bone, servorum nulla est unquam civitas*, says an old poet, A number of slaves makes not a city. So that whilst this monster lives we are not members of a Commonwealth, but only his living tools and instruments, which he may employ to what use he pleases. *Servi tua est fortuna, Ratio ad te nihil*, says

says another; Thy condition is a slave's, thou art not to inquire a reason; nor must we think we can continue long in the condition of slaves, and not degenerate into the habits and temper that is natural to that condition: our minds will grow low with our fortune, and by being accustomed to live like slaves, we shall become unfit to be any thing else. *Etiam fera animalia si clausa teneas virtutis obliviscuntur*, says Tacitus *, The fiercest creatures, by long constraint, lose their courage And, says Sir Francis Bacon, the blessing of Issachar and that of Judah falls not upon one people, to be asses couching under burdens, and to have the spirit of lions. And with their courage it is no wonder if they lose their fortune, as the effect with the cause, and act as ignominiously abroad as they suffer at home. It is Machiavel's observation, that the Roman armies that were always victorious under consuls, all the while they were under the slavery of the Decemviri never prospered. And certainly people have reason to fight but faintly where they are to gain the victory against themselves; when every success shall be a confirmation of their slavery, and a new link to their chain †.

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* Hist. lib. iv. † Discors. I, i. c. 24.

But

But we shall not only lose our courage, which is a useless and an unsafe virtue under a tyrant, but by degrees we shall, after the example of our master, all turn perfidious, deceitful, irreligious, flatterers, and whatever else is villanous and infamous in mankind. See but to what degree we are come already: can there any oath be found so fortified by all religious ties, which we easily find not a distinction to break, when either profit or danger persuades us to it? Do we remember any engagements, or if we do, have we any shame to break them? Can any man think with patience upon what we have professed, when he sees what we wildly do, and tamely suffer? What have we of nobility amongst us but the name, the luxury and the vices of it? Poor wretches, these that now carry that title, are so far from having any of the virtues that should grace and indeed give them their titles, that they have not so much as the generous vices that attend greatness, they have lost all ambition and indignation. As for our ministers*, what have they, or indeed desire they, of their calling, but the tithes? How do these horrid prevaricators search for distinctions to piece contrary oaths? How do they rake Scrip-

* Dr. Locker, Dr. Owen, Mr. Jenkins, &c.

tures for flatteries, and impudently apply them to his monstrous Highness? What is the city but a great tame beast, that eats and carries, and cares not who rides it? What is the thing called a parliament, but a mock? composed of a people that are only suffered to sit there because they are known to have no virtue, after the exclusion of all others that were but suspected to have any? what are they but pimps of tyranny, who are only employed to draw in the people to prostitute their liberty? What will not the army fight for? What will they not fight against? What are they but janissaries, slaves themselves, and making all others so? What are the people in general but knaves, fools, and cowards; principled for ease, vice, and slavery? This is our temper, this tyranny that brought us to already; and if it continues, the little virtue that is yet left to stock the nation must totally extinguish; and then his Highness hath completed his work of reformation*. And the truth is, till then his Highness cannot be secure. He must not endure virtue, for that will not endure him. He that will maintain tyranny must kill Brutus, says Machiavel. A tyrant, says Plato †, must dispatch all virtuous

* Disc. l. iii. c. 3. † De Repub. l. viii.

persons,

persons, or he cannot be safe; so that he is brought to that unhappy necessity, either to live among base and wicked persons, or not to live at all.

Nor must we expect any cure from our patience; *Inganno si gli huomini*, says Machiavel, *credendo con la humilità vincere la superbia* *. Men deceive themselves that think to mollify arrogancy with humility; a tyrant is never modest but when he is weak; it is in the winter of his fortune when this serpent bites not: we must not therefore suffer ourselves to be cozened with hopes of his amendment; for, *Nemo unquam* † *Imperium flagitio quæsitum bonis artibus exercuit*, Never did any man manage the government with justice that got it by villany. The longer the tyrant lives the more the tyrannical humour increases in him, says Plato ‡, like those beasts that grow more curst as they grow old. New occasions daily happen, that necessitate them to new mischiefs; and he must defend one villany with another.

But suppose the contrary of all this, and that his Highness were *vi dominationis convolsus, & mutatus*, changed to the better by great fortune (of

* Disc. l. ii. c. 14. † Tacit. Hist. l. i. ‡ De Repub. l. ix.

which he gives no symptoms) what notwithstanding could be more miserable than to have no other security for our liberty, no other law for our safety; than the will of a man, though the most just living? We have all our beast within us; and whosoever (says Aristotle*) is governed by a man without a law, is governed by a man and by a beast, *Etiam si non sit molestus Dominus; tamen est miserrimum posse si velit* (says Tully†).—Though a master does not tyrannize, yet it is a most miserable thing that it is in his power to do so if he will. If he be good, so was Nero for five years; and how shall we be secure that he will not change? Besides, the power that is allowed to a good man, we may be sure will be claimed and taken by an ill; and therefore it hath been the custom of good princes‡ to abridge their own power, it may be distrusting themselves, but certainly fearing their successors, to the chance of whose being virtuous, they would not hazard the welfare of their people. An unlimited power, therefore, is to be trusted to none, which, if it does not find a tyrant, commonly makes one; or if one uses it modestly, it is no argument that others

* Pol. iii. c. 11. † Cic. Phil. iv. ‡ Lycurgus Theopomp. Plut. in Lycurg.

will;

will; and therefore Augustus Cæsar must have no greater power given him than you would have Tiberius take. And Cicero's * moderation is to be trusted with a consideration, that there are others to be consuls as well as he.

But before I press this business farther, if it needs be any farther prest, that we should endeavour to rescue the honour, the virtue, and liberty of our nation, I shall answer to some few objections that have occurred to me. This I shall do very briefly.

Some I find of a strange opinion, that it were a generous and a noble action to kill his Highness in the field; but to do it privately they think it unlawful, but know not why; as if it were not generous to apprehend a thief till his sword were drawn, and he in a posture to defend himself and kill me. But these people do not consider, that whosoever is possessed of power any time, will be sure to engage so many either in guilt or profit, or both, that to go about to throw him out by open force, will very much hazard the total ruin of the Commonwealth. A tyrant is † a devil, that tears the body in the exorcising, and they are all

* Vid. Orat. Cæsaris in Sallust. Consp. Cat. † Sueton. in vit. Calig.

of Caligula's temper; that if they could, they would have the whole frame of Nature fall with them. It is an opinion that deserves no other refutation than the manifest absurdity of itself; that it should be lawful for me to destroy a tyrant with hazard, blood and confusion, but not without.

Another objection, and more common, is the fear of what may succeed if his Highness were removed. One would think the world were bewitched. I am fallen into a ditch where I shall certainly perish if I lie; but I refuse to be helped out for fear of falling into another; I suffer a certain misery for fear of a contingent one, and let the disease kill me because there is hazard in the cure: Is not this that ridiculous policy, *Ne moriare, mori;* To die for fear of dying? Sure it is frenzy not to desire a change when we are sure we cannot be worse. *Et non incurrere in periculd, ubi quies cenli paria metuuntur**; and not then to hazard, when the danger and the mischiefs are the same in lying still.

Hitherto I have spoken in general to all Englishmen; now I address my discourse particularly to those that certainly best deserve that name, our-

* Seneca.

selves,

selves, that have fought, however unfortunately for our liberties, under this tyrant; and in the end, cozened by his oaths and tears, have purchased nothing but our slavery with the price of our blood. To us particularly it belongs to bring this monster to justice, whom he hath made the instruments of his villany, and sharers in the curse and detestation that is due to himself from all good men: others only have their liberty to vindicate—we our liberty and our honour. We engaged to the people with him, and to the people for him, and from our hands they may justly expect a satisfaction of punishment, being they cannot have that of performance. What the people at present endure, and posterity shall suffer, will be all laid at our doors; for only we, under God, have the power to pull down this dragon which we have set up: and if we do it not, all mankind will repute us approvers of all the villanies he hath done, and authors of all to come. Shall we, that would not endure a king attempting tyranny, shall we suffer a profest tyrant*? We that resisted the lion assailing us, shall we submit to the wolf tearing us? If there be no remedy to be found, we have great reason to exclaim, *Utinam te potius (Carole) retinuissemus*

* Cic. in Epist. ad Octavo.

quam

*quam hunc habuissemus, non quod ullâ sit optanda servitus, sed quod ex dignitate Domini minus turpis est conditio servi**, We wish we had rather endured thee (O Charles) than have been condemned to this mean tyrant; not that we desire any kind of slavery, but that the quality of the master something graces the condition of the slave.

But if we consider it rightly, what our duty, our engagements, and our honour exact from us, both our safety and our interest oblige us to; and it is as unanswerable in us to discretion as it is to virtue, to let this viper live; for, first, he knows very well it is only we that have the power to hurt him, and, therefore, of us he will take any course to secure himself. He is conscious to himself how falsely and perfidiously he hath dealt with us; and therefore he will always fear that from our revenge, which he knows he hath so well deserved.

Lastly, he knows our principles; how directly contrary they are to that arbitrary power he must govern by, and therefore he may reasonably suspect, that we that have already ventured our lives against tyranny, will always have the will, when we have the opportunity to do the same again.

These considerations will easily persuade him

* Cic. in Epist. ad Octav.

to

to secure himself of us, if we prevent him not, and secure ourselves of him. He reads in his Practice of Piety, *chi diviene Patron*, &c. * He that makes himself master of a city, that hath been accustomed to liberty, if he destroys it not, he must expect to be destroyed by it. And we may read too in the same author, and believe him, that those that are the occasion that One becomes powerful, are always ruined by him, if they want the wit and courage to secure themselves †.

Now as to our interest, we must never expect that he will ever trust those that he hath provoked and fears: he will be sure to keep us down, lest we should pluck down him. It is the rule that tyrants observe, when they are in power, never to make much use of those that helped them to it; and indeed 'tis their interest and security not to do it: for those that have been the authors of their greatness, being conscious of their own merit, they are bold with the tyrant, and less industrious to please him; they think all he can do for them is their due, and still they expect more; and when they fail in their expectations (as it is impossible to satisfy them) their disappointments make them discontented, and their discontents dangerous.

* Mach. pr. c. 5. † Ibid. c. 3.

There-

Therefore all tyrants follow the example of Dionysius, who was said to use his friends as he did his bottles, when he had use for them he kept them by him; when he had none, that they should not trouble him, and lye in his way, he hung them up.

But to conclude this already over-long paper, let every man to whom God hath given the spirit of wisdom and courage, be persuaded by his honor, his safety, his own good and his country's, and indeed the duty he owes to his generation, and to mankind, to endeavour by all rational means to free the world of this pest. Let not other nations have the occasion to think so meanly of us, as if we resolved to sit still and have our ears bored, or that any discouragements or disappointments can ever make us desist from attempting our liberty, till we have purchased it, either by this monster's death or by our own. Our nation is not yet so barren of virtue, that we want noble examples to follow amongst ourselves. The brave Sindercomb hath shewed as great a mind as any old Rome could boast of; and had he lived there, his name had been registered with Brutus and Cato, and he had had his statues as well as they.

But I will not have so sinister an opinion of ourselves

ourselves (as little generosity as slavery hath left us) as to think so great a virtue can want its monuments even amongst us. Certainly in every virtuous mind there are statues reared to Sindercomb. Whenever we read the eulogies of those that have died for their country—when we admire those great examples of magnanimity, that have tired tyrants' cruelties—when we extol their constancy, whom neither bribes nor terrors could make betray their friends—it is then we erect Sindercomb statues, and grave him monuments, where all that can be said of a great and noble mind, we justly make an epitaph for him; and though the tyrant caused him to be smothered, lest the people should hinder an open murder, yet he will never be able either to smother his memory, or his own villany. His poison was but a poor and common device to impose only on those that understood not tyrants practices, and are unacquainted (if any be) with his cruelties and falsehoods. He may therefore, if he please, take away the stake from Sindercomb's grave, and if he have a mind it should be known how he died, let him send thither the pillows and feather-beds with which Barkstead and his hangman smothered him. But to conclude, Let not this monster think himself the more secure, that he hath

suppress

suppress one great spirit; he may be confident that *Longus post illum sequitur ordo idem petentium decus.*

There is a great roll behind, even of those that are in his own muster-rolls, and are ambitious of the name of the deliverers of their country; and they know what the action is that will purchase it. His bed, his table, is not secure, and he stands in need of other guards to defend him against his own. Death and destruction pursue him where-ever he goes; they follow him every where, like his fellow-travellers, and at last they will come upon him like armed men. Darkness is hid in his secret places, a fire not blown shall consume him; it shall go ill with him that is left in his tabernacle. He shall flee from the iron weapon, and a bow of steel shall strike him through. Because he hath oppressed, and forsaken the poor; because he hath violently taken away a house which he builded not; we may be confident, and so may he, that ere long all this will be accomplished; for the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment. Though his Excellency * mount up to the heavens, and his head reacheth unto the clouds, yet he shall perish for ever like his own dung: They that have seen him shall say, Where is he?

* He hath now left that title for HIGHNESS, and will shortly leave that for KING.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

COURTEOUS READER,

EXPECT another Sheet or two of Paper of this subject, if I escape the tyrant's hands, although he gets (in the interim) the crown upon his head, which he hath (underhand) put his confederates on to petition his acceptance thereof*.

* This work was never continued.

THE END.

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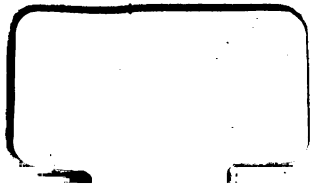
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